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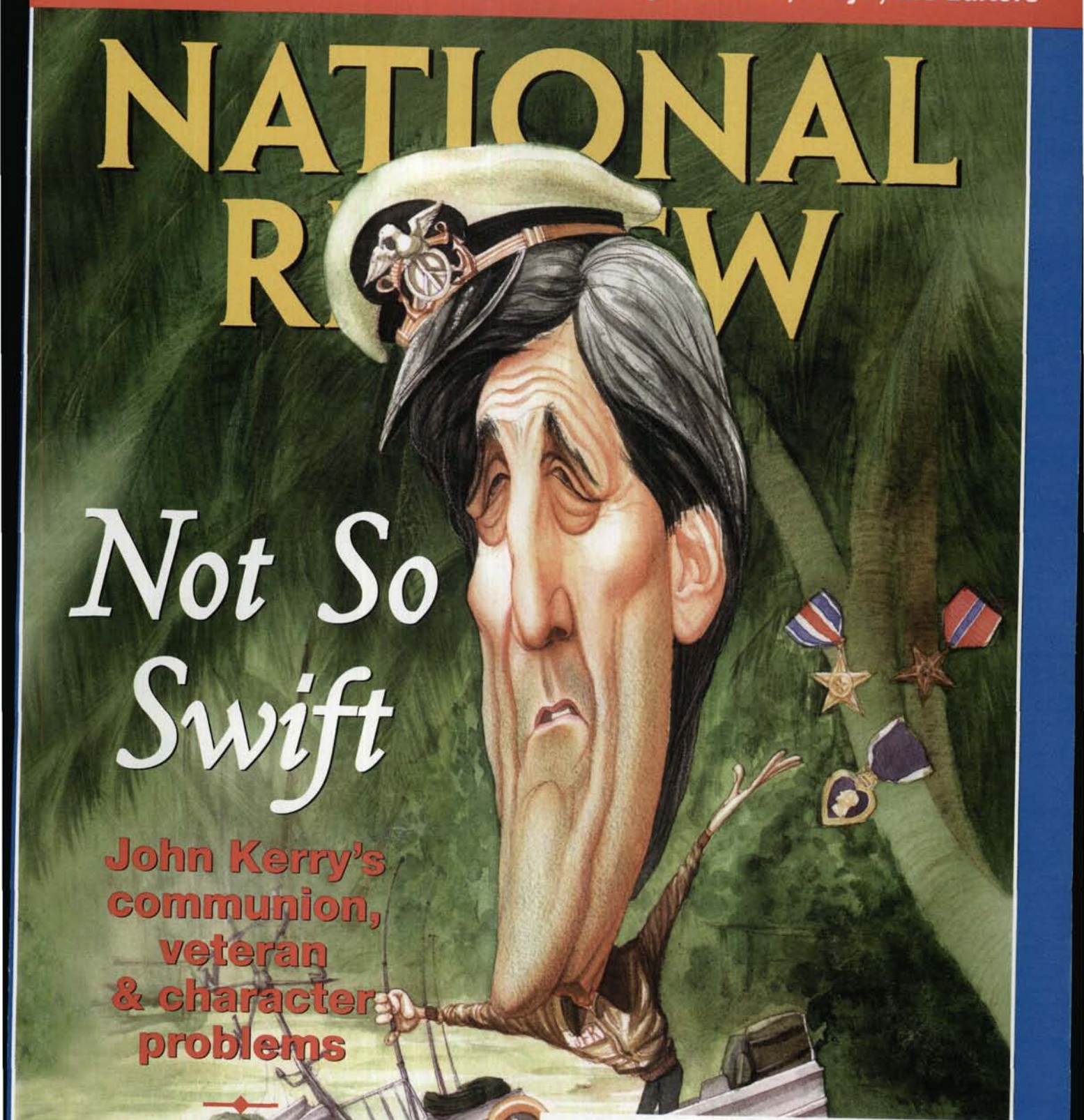

Not So Swift

John Kerry's communion, veteran & character problems

RAMESH PONNURU
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RICHARD LOWRY

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MAY 31, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 10

NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ COVER STORY

Kerry, Kerry, Quite Contrary

Character tends to be enduring. If you were familiar with Bill Clinton's first two years as Arkansas governor, you had a pretty good idea of how his first couple of years as president would play out. So too with Kerry there are themes that have been apparent right from the beginning. *By Richard Lowry*

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COVER: *Roman Genn*

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letters to the editor

TO OUTSOURCE OR NOT TO . . .

I find two faults with Daniel Griswold's argument for outsourcing ("Outsource, Outsource, and Outsource Some More," May 3). First, outsourcing jobs does have a negative impact on low-skilled workers. Mr. Griswold seems to assume that there are types of work *only* Americans can perform profitably, and which low-skilled workers can be retrained to do. But it may not be the case that today's low-skilled workers are capable of such a switch.

Second, virtually any job, white- or blue-collar, can be done more cheaply abroad than in the U.S.—if not now, then certainly in the future. Mr. Griswold argues that so far we have not lost that many jobs to outsourcing, but what is now a trickle may become a river if the economic logic behind outsourcing becomes the fashion in all our major industries.

Barton L. Ingraham
Santa Fe, N.M.

Griswold makes a convincing argument that foreign outsourcing is not a bad thing—and is quite possibly a good thing. But he exposes a faulty assumption when he says: "IT companies are increasingly outsourcing thankless jobs—routine programming, data entry, and system monitoring—abroad." There is really no such thing as "routine programming." We have not yet advanced to a point where programming can be performed by anyone but a highly educated, experienced person. The construction of a software project is still a creative endeavor, more art than science.

Thus the jobs that are being exported in this field generally require a college degree and/or substantial work experience, and are very much in demand by highly trained professionals. If this foreign outsourcing is to have the effect of producing higher-level jobs at home, then it seems the only way to stay employed in this country is to pursue a Ph.D. in computer science.

Darrell Wilson
DeSoto, Kan.

DANIEL GRISWOLD REPLIES:

No one argues that foreign outsourcing will leave every American better off. Some people will lose their jobs because of off-shoring, just as others will lose because of imported goods, new technology, or domestic competition. Millions of jobs are created and destroyed in the U.S. economy every year. Rather than trying to block change through protectionist barriers or other regulations, we should equip ourselves to make the transition to better jobs.

America's experience with trade has been what trade theory would predict: We do more of what we do best, and we import more of what people in other countries do best. Meanwhile, over the long haul, employment keeps rising with the size of the labor force. Americans retain tremendous advantages in creating, managing, making, and marketing higher-end goods and services.

By "routine programming," I meant those tasks that are more limited and more easily delegated.

TOBACCO TALK

I enjoyed Michael Potemra's review of *The Bushes* (May 3). His grasp of things journalistic is superior. However, his tobacco education seems to be incomplete.

He describes the Copenhagen tobacco used by George W. Bush as chewing tobacco. In point of fact, however, Copenhagen is not chewing tobacco but "smokeless tobacco." In Colonial America, it was sniffed and the user enjoyed a great sneeze. Much later, "snuff" was placed between the cheek and the gum and enjoyed for its flavor.

Chewing tobacco is indeed chewed but snuff was never chewed. And I know my "backker" (South Georgian for tobacco)—I was raised on a tobacco farm.

R. Graham Daniell
Metter, Ga.

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To Improve Teacher Quality, Support Beginning Teachers

Kurt M. Landgraf,
President & CEO, ETS

Good teachers produce good students. But how do we produce good teachers? And how do we keep them? One important way is to improve teacher professional development, starting with "induction" programs for beginning teachers.

Effective induction programs are built around a well-defined learning curriculum, combining mentoring with high-quality professional development to help new teachers reflect on and improve their classroom practice. Recent research shows the importance of such programs.

Examining the issue in a study for the Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy at the University of Washington, researcher Richard Ingersoll found a 40 percent turnover rate among first-year teachers who did not participate in induction programs. This was more than twice the turnover rate of teachers who had received high-quality induction support.

ETS's research on the California Formative Assessment and Support System for Teachers complements Ingersoll's findings. In the California program, experienced teachers who were trained as mentors worked with beginning teachers on critical aspects of teaching. Our results show that high quality mentor-based induction programs can help improve teacher practices and bolster student achievement.

But induction programs need to be taken seriously to be effective. It isn't enough to assign a new teacher an informal mentor and hope the two get together.

Schools need to train and support their mentors to be coaches who understand the elements of good teaching. They need to equip mentors and beginning teachers with a learning curriculum so that they learn to analyze and improve classroom instruction. And they need to provide time and support for beginning teachers and mentors to work together effectively.

Given current teacher shortages, teacher retention is critical. High-quality induction programs work. Yet only 15 states both require and finance mentoring programs for all novice teachers, despite the availability of funds for the purpose.

As stated in *Where We Stand on Teacher Quality*, ETS believes all states should establish induction programs as part of a continuous, high-quality professional development program designed to support teachers throughout their career.

Teaching is one of the most challenging – and one of the most important – jobs in our society. It's time that we equip educators with the tools they need to get the job done.

At ETS, we're listening to educators, parents and policy-makers. We're learning from sound research. And we're leading the effort to achieve both informed public policy and informed educational practice.

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for the record

"Not so fast—I brought along some talking points."

■ In *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll, President **Bush** earns 47 percent approval rating. . . . Fox News election poll: Bush 42 percent, **John Kerry** 40 percent, **Ralph Nader** 2 percent. . . . Bush on al-Qaeda: "There is no cave or hole deep enough to hide from American justice." . . . Bush on Kerry: "My opponent admits that **Saddam Hussein** was a threat. He just didn't support my decision to remove Saddam from power. Maybe he was hoping Saddam would lose the next Iraqi election." . . . RNC chairman **Ed Gillespie**: "John Kerry's . . . caveats, qualifications, disclaimers, policy reversals, and vacillation are not the qualities voters are looking for in times of uncertain change that deserve steady leadership." . . . Vice President **Cheney**: "The story of Wal-Mart exemplifies some of the very best qualities in our country—hard work, the spirit of enterprise, fair dealing, and integrity." . . . In April, unemployment rate falls to 5.6 percent, down from recent high of 6.3 percent in June 2003.

■ Kerry: "As everybody knows, the promise of No Child Left Behind has been broken." . . . Kerry in 2001: "The No Child Left Behind Act provides public schools with more funding and flexibility in return for demanding accountability for results." . . . **Bob Dole** on Kerry, on Fox News: "When you come back and first you brag about all the medals you had and being wounded three times and things of that kind, and then you throw everything away and join the other side, it's going to be fairly hard to explain it, particularly to veterans."

■ Black and Hispanic leaders criticize composition of Kerry's top staff. . . . Rep. **James Clyburn** (D., S.C.): "He is generally surrounded by white folks, and sure that concerns me, sure." . . . In letter to Kerry, **Raul Yzaguirre** of National Council of La Raza condemns "remarkable and unacceptable absence of Latinos in your campaign." . . . More Yzaguirre: "Relegating all of your minority staff to the important but limited role of outreach only reinforces perceptions that your campaign views Hispanics as a voting constituency to be mobilized, but not as experts to be consulted in shaping policy." . . . On Black Entertainment Television, Kerry says he hopes **Al Sharpton** speaks at Democratic national convention: "I thought he conducted himself thoughtfully, sensitively. I think he contributed a lot to [the] debate."

■ Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (D., Conn.) on whether secretary of defense **Donald Rumsfeld** should resign following Iraqi prisoner controversy, on CNN: "I don't know anything about the secretary's handling of this particular crisis that would lead me to ask or suggest to the president that the secretary of defense be removed at a critical moment in a war that matters a lot to America's security and matters to the Iraqi people. So my answer is no." . . . Gov. **Bill Richardson** (D., N.M.) tries new line to demonstrate his unwillingness to run for vice president: "I would not accept at gunpoint." . . . Sen. **Chuck Hagel** (R., Neb.) on why Kerry shouldn't pick him as running mate, on CNN: "The Republicans have enough problems with me." . . . Sen. **Chris Dodd** (D., Conn.), to AP: "The party in power in Washington has put, I believe, this country on a radical and reckless path." . . . **Al Gore** announces purchase of cable-TV network Newsworld International: "This is not going to be a liberal network or a Democratic network or a political network in any way, shape, or form."

■ Bush campaign keeps its distance from Ohio's tax-raising governor, **Bob Taft** (R.). . . . Rep. **Pat Toomey** (R., Pa.) endorses Sen. **Arlen Specter** (R.) for reelection, following Specter's narrow victory over Toomey in GOP primary. . . . Constitution party weighs running candidate in Pennsylvania Senate contest. . . . In Alaska, Sen. **Lisa Murkowski** (R.) faces pro-life primary challenge from former state senate president **Mike Miller**, but KTUU poll shows Murkowski leading, 66 percent to 28 percent. . . . As Food and Drug Administration rejects plan to sell "morning after" abortion pill over the counter, **Scott Spear** of Planned Parenthood attacks decision: "I think these pills would be very helpful to teenage girls." . . . After Americans place 60 million phone numbers on national "Do Not Call" list to block telemarketers, FTC files first lawsuit against violator. . . . Competitive Enterprise Institute celebrates 20th anniversary.

■ Bomb blasts in Greek capital worry officials preparing for Athens Olympic Games. . . . Irritated at rhetoric of **Fidel Castro**, Mexico and Peru recall ambassadors from Cuba. . . . In speech marking 25th anniversary of her rise to power, former British prime minister **Margaret Thatcher** critiques Labor government: "They spend, they tax, they borrow—and as problems pile up they demand still more taxpayers' money, and then they demand another chance. But they don't deserve it and they mustn't get it." . . . Pope **John Paul II** on the expansion of the European Union: "Only a Europe that does not remove, but rediscovers its Christian roots will reach the stature needed for the great challenges of the third millennium: peace, dialogue between cultures and religions, the safeguarding of creation."

■ **David Letterman**: "Yesterday at a Cinco de Mayo celebration, John Kerry spoke to an audience in Spanish. So now he's failed to articulate his message in two languages." **NR**

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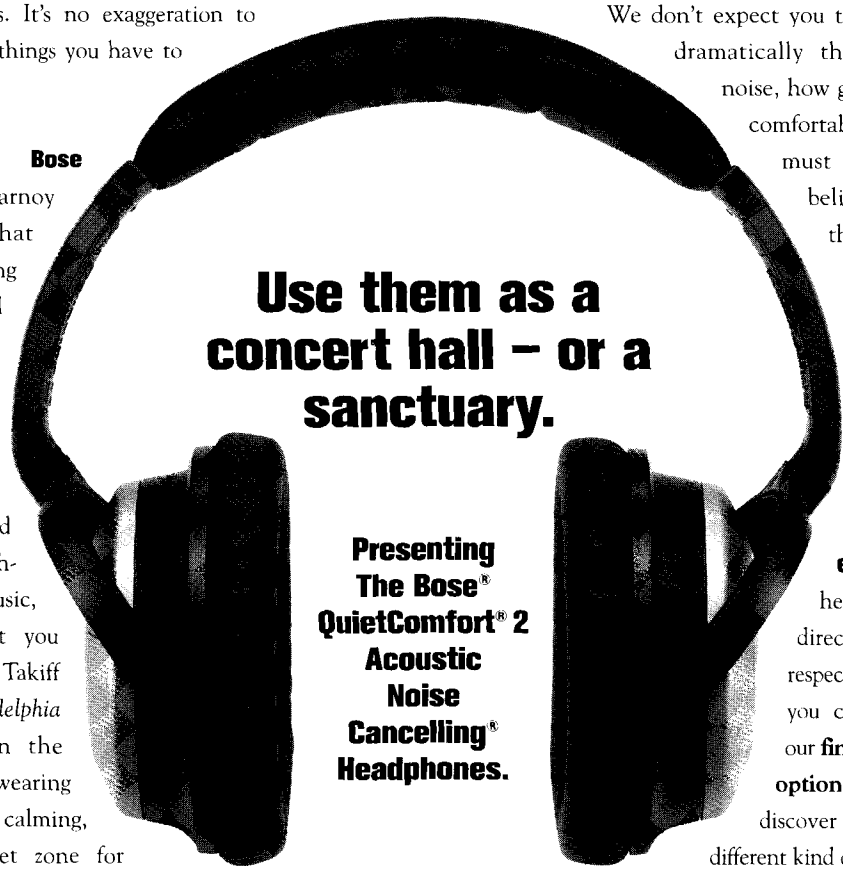

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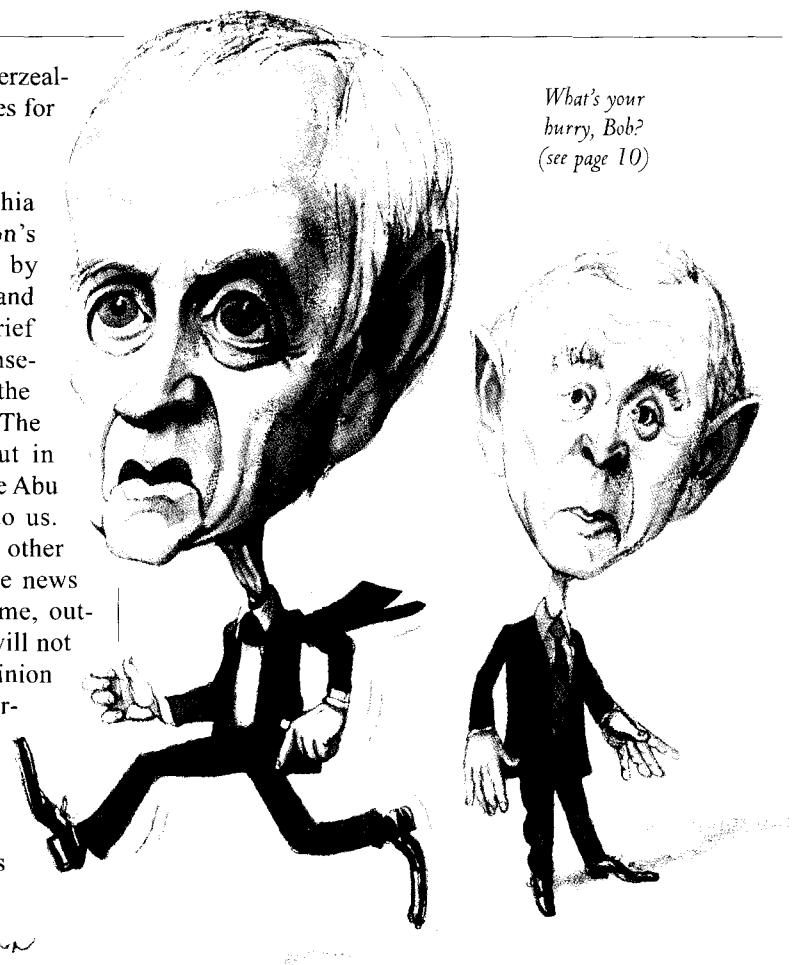
THE WEEK

■ Senator Kerry has blamed his recent goofs on "overzealous speechwriters." Have they been casting his votes for him all these years, too?

■ Nick Berg, a 26-year-old native of Philadelphia who had gone to Iraq to help rebuild the nation's civil-communications networks, was captured by terrorists and murdered. The murder was filmed and shown on an Islamic website. After reading a brief statement of identification, Berg, bound and defenseless, was stabbed in the neck, then decapitated, the killers shouting, "God is great!" as they worked. The terrorists said that the murder was carried out in revenge for the humiliation of Iraqi prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison. The symmetry is not apparent to us. While President Bush, Secretary Rumsfeld, and other administration figures—as well as all responsible news commentators in the U.S.—have expressed shame, outrage, and apology at the Abu Ghraib events, we will not be holding our breath waiting for political and opinion leaders in the Arab world to do the same for the murder of Nick Berg. Similarly, while the perpetrators of the Abu Ghraib misdeeds have been identified and arrested, and are already being brought to trial, there is no authority in the Arab world either able or willing to apprehend the brutes who murdered a helpless man—a man who had come to their country in a spirit of brotherhood and assistance—in the name of their God. No, there is no symmetry, no equivalence. On one side of the balance is civilization; on the other, barbarism.



What's your hurry, Bob? *(see page 10)*

ROMAN GENN

■ Thomas Hamill had his appointment in Samarra, happier than the original one, when the American civilian contractor burst from the shed, near that famous town, in which his Iraqi kidnappers had been holding him, and ran into the arms of a patrol from the 108th Infantry. Hamill, a Mississippi dairy farmer who signed up to be a fuel-truck driver, had been captured a month earlier when his convoy was ambushed by terrorists outside the Abu Ghraib prison (bad things happen outside its walls, too). He was moved from place to place, and waited until Americans were close enough to make an escape attempt worth the risk. He has said that he is praying for his two colleagues still missing from the raid, and for the families of the six men from his convoy—five Americans and one Iraqi—who were killed. He has also said, "We got to get that country back on its feet."

■ The Labor Department reported that the economy created 288,000 new jobs in April, and had created 337,000 in March (an upward revision of the previous estimate). John Kerry tried hard to make the worst of a good situation: "We still have a long way to go to get America working again." We hope that we are at the start of a long boom that takes us the rest of the way. But we are already in a pretty good place: The "misery index" of unemployment plus inflation is even lower than it was in 1996, when Clinton sailed to re-election on a tide of prosperity. Advantage Bush.

■ A phalanx of John Kerry's former swift-boat comrades from Vietnam held a press conference in Washington to pronounce him unfit to be president of the United States. This is not what Kerry has in mind when he talks of a "band of brothers." Led by John O'Neill, profiled in our May 3 issue ("The Un-Kerry," by Alexander Rose), the vets directed most of their fire at Kerry's post-Vietnam performance, when he broadly accused his fellow soldiers of war crimes. As Byron York points out elsewhere in this issue, some of these veterans had come to Kerry's defense when he himself

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THE WEEK...

was accused of Vietnam atrocities at various times in his career. But his blatant use of his Vietnam service in this campaign, coupled with his unwillingness to repudiate the war-crime accusations *he* made, prompted them to speak out. John Kerry could take a step toward healing the breach with these men whose service he professes to honor so deeply by admitting that his 1971 charges were false and apologizing for them.

■ Powell was unhappy that . . . Powell reportedly criticized his colleagues . . . Within the administration, Powell let it be known . . . It seems that almost every story on the Iraq war—almost every story on the Bush administration—comes decorated with some such reservation, courtesy of the incumbent secretary of state. Great skills, wrong application. If Powell had talked to the Turks as much as he talks to the press, we might have been able to invade Iraq from the north.

■ The 9/11 commissioners kept insisting that it was crucial that the president and vice president testify before them. So

Chicken Little and Oil

Now that oil prices have reached $40 a barrel and gasoline is selling in some markets at $2 a gallon, Chicken Littles are gloomily predicting that the earth is rapidly running out of energy. Paul Krugman recently wrote a *New York Times* column about a future of continuing hikes in the price of oil owing to the "intensifying competition for a limited world oil supply." Krugman famously predicted in the early 1980s that oil prices would surely rise—right on the eve of the steepest decline in oil prices in history. Even the Bush administration is investing billions of tax dollars in hydrogen-cell cars in anticipation of the end of oil.

But don't despair: This is at least the fifth time in a century that "experts" have falsely predicted the planet would soon be running on empty. In the 1920s, many geologists said that oil supplies would run completely dry within 50 years. In the early 1970s the Club of Rome predicted oil would cost $100 a barrel by the year 2000—they were off by a factor of about 4. And Jimmy Carter declared during the 1977 OPEC crisis that "we could use up all of the proven reserves of oil in the entire world by the end of the next decade."

ENERGY IS STILL CHEAP AND ABUNDANT

	1900	1950	1980	Today
Retail Gasoline ($/Gallon)		2.92	2.85	1.84
Crude Oil ($/Barrel)	114	27	49	40
Residential Electricity (C/kWh)	73	25	8	10

Now for a quiz question: When did the United States and the world possess the largest reserve of oil? The answer is, today. When it comes to recoverable oil, we have more, not less, today than we did 20, 50, or 100 years ago. And we will have more, not less, 20 years from now, thanks to advances in technology that always outrun the pace at which we use the commodity.

Despite the recent surge in prices caused by the Iraq War and the supply cutbacks by the OPEC cartel, oil is still cheap by historical standards. (See the accompanying chart.) In other words, we have to work less today to purchase oil than any other generation had to—which is really the best measure of scarcity. Think gasoline is expensive today? In the 1920s our grandparents paid, in today's wage-adjusted prices, $10 a gallon. In today's prices, oil cost $100 a barrel in 1900. Energy prices have been falling almost continuously (with some notable exceptions, such as the 1970s) ever since man first discovered that this black gook could be used for fuel. In many areas of the country Americans pay more for a gallon of bottled water than for a gallon of gas.

The late economist Julian Simon proved two decades ago that oil is not a "finite" resource, because the human mind is infinite in its capacity to find new oil or energy substitutes. In the 1950s, for example, no one thought it was possible to get oil from the bottom of the sea. By 1965 we had the technological capacity to drill 60 feet into the sea bed. Today's rigs can drill more than 10,000 feet down. Moreover, new sources of oil are being discovered. One of the richest oil fields in the Western hemisphere is up in Alaska, at Prudhoe Bay. Geologists recently discovered there is at least twice as much oil in this deposit as originally forecast. No one knows for sure how much oil is available within the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve, but this could amount to one of the most lavish oil deposits in the world—yet the Left refuses to allow drilling. Krugman foolishly writes that "no major oil fields have been found since 1976, and experts suspect that there are no more to find." Krugman should be nominated for President of the Flat Earth Society. He sounds like the head of the Patent Office who, 100 years ago, said that just about everything that could be invented, has been invented.

It turns out that capitalism is the best way to ensure an abundance of oil at affordable prices. The price of energy will continue to fall over the long term, if only our meddling politicians understand that we already have a national energy policy that works quite well, thank you: It's called the free market.

—STEPHEN MOORE

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Bush and Cheney agreed. Then two members of the commission decided they had more important things to do. Vice chairman Lee Hamilton and former senator Bob Kerrey, both Democrats, left early, citing prior commitments. Hamilton slipped out on his own head of goverment in order to introduce Canada's at a luncheon speech. Kerrey, president of New School University, had a meeting scheduled with Sen. Pete Domenici to lobby for funding for the school. Both Hamilton and Kerrey were taken aback by the criticism of their leave-taking. They obviously didn't connect the dots, there was a coordination breakdown, they didn't go to battle stations—misjudgments were made.

■ Judicially speaking, Brett Kavanaugh is on the side of the angels, one of the best legal minds and practitioners we have. That's why Sen. Chuck Schumer, judge-blocker extraordinaire, said, "Mr. Kavanaugh would probably win first prize as the hard Right's political lawyer." Wear it as a badge of honor, as Dan Quayle might say. Anyway, Kavanaugh is now an appeals-court nominee, and he has come up against not just Schumer but Dianne Feinstein. The latter says to him, "So, can you name five pro-choice judges [President Bush] has put forward? Can you name four? Three? Two, or even one?" We would have paid good money to hear him say, "What do you mean 'pro-choice,' Senator Feinstein?"—for the likes of Lady Dianne never say "abortion," oh, no. The word is verboten. Alternatively, Kavanaugh could have said, "Are you referring to education policy, senator?" But that's why Kavanaugh is the nominee, and not we. We are far too smart-alecky to be confirmed.

■ Several years ago, the World Trade Organization ruled that some provisions of our tax code covering foreign sales amounted to a subsidy for our exporters. It ruled that the European Union was therefore within its rights to retaliate for our unfair trade practice by imposing tariffs on us. Congress has spent the intervening time debating what to do but not actually solving the problem—so now the EU has started to impose the tariffs. There are two leading proposals in Congress. Bill Thomas's bill ends the export subsidy and uses the revenue thus gained to clean up the tax code. Phil Crane's bill ends the subsidy and uses the proceeds to give tax breaks to manufacturers, and seemingly every other company with a good lobbying team in Washington. Thomas's bill is better policy, but faces strong opposition from a few companies that have a strong presence in the congressional district of the Speaker of the House, Denny Hastert. Congress ought to stop dithering, and pass something on the order of the Thomas bill. We have some serious differences with the EU, and do not need to prolong gratuitous disputes.

■ Thanks to Gov. Bill Owens, Colorado already has a school-choice program. Now the governor is also offering vouchers for college students. Facing demands for increased funding for colleges and universities, he responded by providing funding for the students to use at private or public institutions. A lot of federal higher-education funding already goes directly to students. This funding has probably led to higher prices and lower quality than if there were no subsidies at all. But the fact that the funding has gone to the students themselves has also allowed for competition, and better results than we get in our high schools. Other states should follow Owens's lead in their own college financing. Even more important, they should follow his lead in K-12 education, where vouchers are even more needed.

■ A Florida judge has overturned a law designed to save the life of Terri Schiavo. She has been in a vegetative state for 14 years, and her husband Michael has been trying to get her feeding tube removed, over her family's protest. The legislature and governor responded to the controversy with a law that allowed her to keep being fed. The judge has now found that the law violated Mrs. Schiavo's "right to privacy." The law is, in truth, hard to reconcile with previous judicial edicts governing euthanasia. But it's those edicts, not the law, that should go. In this area as in so many others, creative readings of constitutions have allowed the "experts"—in this case judges and bioethicists—to trump democratic judgment. The result is written constitutions that hardly matter, and a right to privacy that kills its beneficiaries.

■ Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is suffering from a self-inflicted wound. He offered his Likud party a vote on his proposal to quit the 20-odd Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip, and the party members said no by a huge margin. Their confusion is understandable. Over the years Sharon has taught them to be in favor of the policy of settlements, and here is their hero slamming on the brakes and reversing. Given continuing Palestinian violence, Sharon wants to draw a clear dividing line between the two communities. Which is also what most Israelis want, again by a huge margin. Then why didn't Sharon hold a national referendum rather than allow Likud to dictate to him? Seemingly because he doesn't want to be beholden to the Left for anything, and thinks he'll somehow get his way in the end through coalition-forming, arm-twisting, and horse-dealing.

Pre-Convention Qualms

As Boston looms like Banquo's ghost,
The Democrats, who come to toast,
Begin to wonder who the hell
Chose bleeping Beantown, where a bell
Boings for the year Dukakis bled;
And where—shall we badmouth the dead?—
The Kennedys' persistent spoor
Clings to the podium and floor.

—W. H. von Dreele

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In the March 2004 issue of *Scientific American,* National Aeronautics and Space Administration global-warming expert James Hansen notes that **greenhouse gas emissions and global-warming projections are "consistently pessimistic."** Hansen suggests that projections do not take into account the lower carbon dioxide and methane emissions that have resulted from technological advancements. He explains that the lower carbon dioxide emissions result from increased energy efficiency following the energy crisis in the 1970s and the lower methane emissions, from technological changes in agriculture.

Hansen's concludes on an optimistic note, saying "the main elements [new technologies] required to halt climate change have come into being with remarkable rapidity." This statement would not have surprised economist Julian Simon. He saw the "ultimate resource" to be the human mind and believed it to be best motivated by market forces.

Because of a combination of market forces and technological innovations, we are not running out of natural resources. As a resource becomes more scarce, prices increase, thus encouraging development of cheaper alternatives and technological innovations. Just as fossil fuel replaced scarce whale oil, its use will be reduced by new technology and alternative fuel sources.

Market forces also cause economic growth, which in turn leads to environmental improvements. Put simply, poor people are willing to sacrifice clean water and air, healthy forests, and wildlife habitat for economic growth. But as their incomes rise above subsistence, "economic growth helps to undo the damage done in earlier years," says economist Bruce Yandle. "If economic growth is good for the environment, policies that stimulate growth ought to be good for the environment."

The link between greenhouse gas emissions and economic prosperity is no different. Using data from the United States, Professor Robert McCormick finds that "higher GDP reduces total net [greenhouse gas] emissions."

He goes a step further by performing the complex task of estimating net U.S. carbon emissions. This requires subtracting carbon sequestration (long-term storage of carbon in soil and water) from carbon emissions. Think of it this way: when you build a house, the wood in it stores carbon. In a poor country that wood would have been burned to cook supper or to provide heat, thus releasing carbon into the atmosphere. McCormick shows that **economic growth in the United States has increased carbon sequestration in many ways**, including improved methods of storing waste, increased forest coverage, and greater agricultural productivity that reduces the acreage of cultivated land.

Because rich economies sequester more carbon than poor ones, stored carbon must be subtracted from emissions to determine an economy's net addition to greenhouse gas emissions. McCormick's data show that "rich countries take more carbon out of the air than poorer ones" and that "the growth rate of net carbon emission per person will soon be negative in the United States." Put differently—richer may well be cooler.

Global-warming policy analysts agree that greenhouse gas regulations such as those proposed at Kyoto would have negative impacts on the economy. Therefore, as McCormick warns, we should take great care that regulations in the name of global warming "not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs."

—Terry L. Anderson

Terry L. Anderson is the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the editor of the forthcoming book You Have to Admit It's Getting Better: From Economic Prosperity to Environmental Quality *(Hoover Institution Press, 2004).*

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THE WEEK...

Having differences of opinion is all very well, but for Sharon this is the equivalent of stepping off the path in order to take a shortcut through a thorn-bush hedge.

■ The geographic center of the European Union moved a little to the right on May 1, when ten countries, including eight formerly a reluctant part of the Soviet empire, joined the club. Once the Belgian town of Viroinval, the EU's heart is now located in the German village of Kleinmaischeid (population 1,300), about 25 miles southeast of Bonn. This shift from west to east is fitting: After six decades, Stalin's rupturing of Europe's halves has been healed, and the continent is whole. By any lights, it is a remarkable achievement. And now for the bad news. These countries, since their liberation, tilted toward the American point of view, but as new members of the EU it is almost inevitable that they will come to favor the Franco-German axis. The proposed EU constitution, which is aimed at deepening the degree of integration among Europe's nation-states, will strongarm them into backing Brussels over Washington. On the other hand, if Washington decides to back Euroskeptics in Britain, the Mediterranean states, the eastern European countries, and even France and Germany, EU enlargement presents an opportunity for our friends to repatriate powers from Brussels and to reinvigorate our Atlanticist ties.

■ There has been another development in a scandal too little covered in our media. We refer to the Oil-for-Food scam at the United Nations, now being investigated by no fewer than three congressional committees. It appears that the U.N. is busy sending out letters to potential witnesses firmly reminding them that "contractors may not communicate at any time to any other person, Government or authority external to the United Nations any information known to them by reason of their association with the United Nations." In other words, keep your mouths shut and your heads down, or you will be sued. But wait a second, didn't Secretary-General Kofi Annan promise a full and frank investigation of the fraud? And where are the Democrats on this? After all, they're the ones who exalt whistleblowers, and often rightly so. Here we have evidence that a corrupt institution is attempting to crush prospective whistleblowers with the threat of legal action. C'mon, Paul Krugman, get off the fence and right this injustice.

■ Terror has struck Saudi Arabia, leaving two Americans, among others, dead. But not to worry—the Saudis have gotten to the bottom of these appalling events. It is all being orchestrated by . . . the Jews! To be precise, Crown Prince Abdullah, the kingdom's *de facto* ruler, declared that "Zionists" and "followers of Satan" were responsible for the acts. The kingdom's foreign minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal, concurred, saying that it is "a known fact that the extremist Zionist elements all over the world are deeply involved in vicious campaigns against the kingdom." No Arab, nor any Muslim, would do such wicked things, you see, unless seduced and manipulated by those dastardly Jews. Given that, only a few days before these pronouncements, the State Department had praised the Saudis for their "aggressive" and "unprecedented" anti-terrorism efforts, one has to wonder whether State understands the Saudi definition of "terrorist."

■ We don't often have occasion to praise filmmakers for their political activities, so we were glad to learn about Egyptian film director Nabil Abdel-Alim, who applied in his country to set up an Egyptian-Israeli friendship association. The trouble is, Egyptian authorities think relations with Israelis should be "left to the government," and so Mr. Abdel-Alim's application was rejected, first by the Ministry of Social Affairs and then by Egypt's Supreme Administrative Court. We already know what it means in Egypt for relations with Israelis to be "left to the government": Nazi-style propaganda circulates through the (state-controlled) press; maps, including the ones used in schools, are printed without reference to Israel; diplomatic affronts are repeatedly made (for example, Egypt has had no ambassador in Tel Aviv since 2000). We regret that Mr. Abdel-Alim wasn't allowed to try something a bit different this time.

■ An avant-garde theater in Madrid has been running a new play titled *In God We* ****, where the asterisks stand for a common scatological verb descriptive of the major excretory function. The play is, needless to say, deeply hostile to the Christian religion, at one point arguing that Christianity should, like tobacco and alcohol, be illegal for minors. The scatological theme is strong; at one point the stage is festooned with toilet paper. That was the point at which an enraged audience member leapt up, shouted "Long live Christ the King!" and attempted to set fire to the scenery with his cigarette lighter. A general melee broke out, becoming so violent that the audience eventually realized it was not part of the production.

■ The Republican party's national convention is to be held in New York this year, and organizers have been setting up some entertainment options for the delegates. Broadway is, of course, a big draw for out-of-towners. However, given that theater nowadays is liable to feature the memoirs of an East German transvestite (*I Am My Own Wife*), a musical about killers of presidents (*Assassins*), or a man romantically involved with a goat (*The Goat or Who Is Sylvia?*), while delegates to a Republican convention are, one hopes, of conservative artistic sensibilities, it's hard to know what to recommend. Convention organizers settled on the less controversial type of shows for their block-ticket purchases, modified subtly by geographical considerations (the Florida delegation will see *Fiddler on the Roof*), while at the same time expressing the hope that individual delegates will explore the more adventurous productions on their own. The *New York Times*—to whom Republican convention delegates from flyover states must be uncultured hay-

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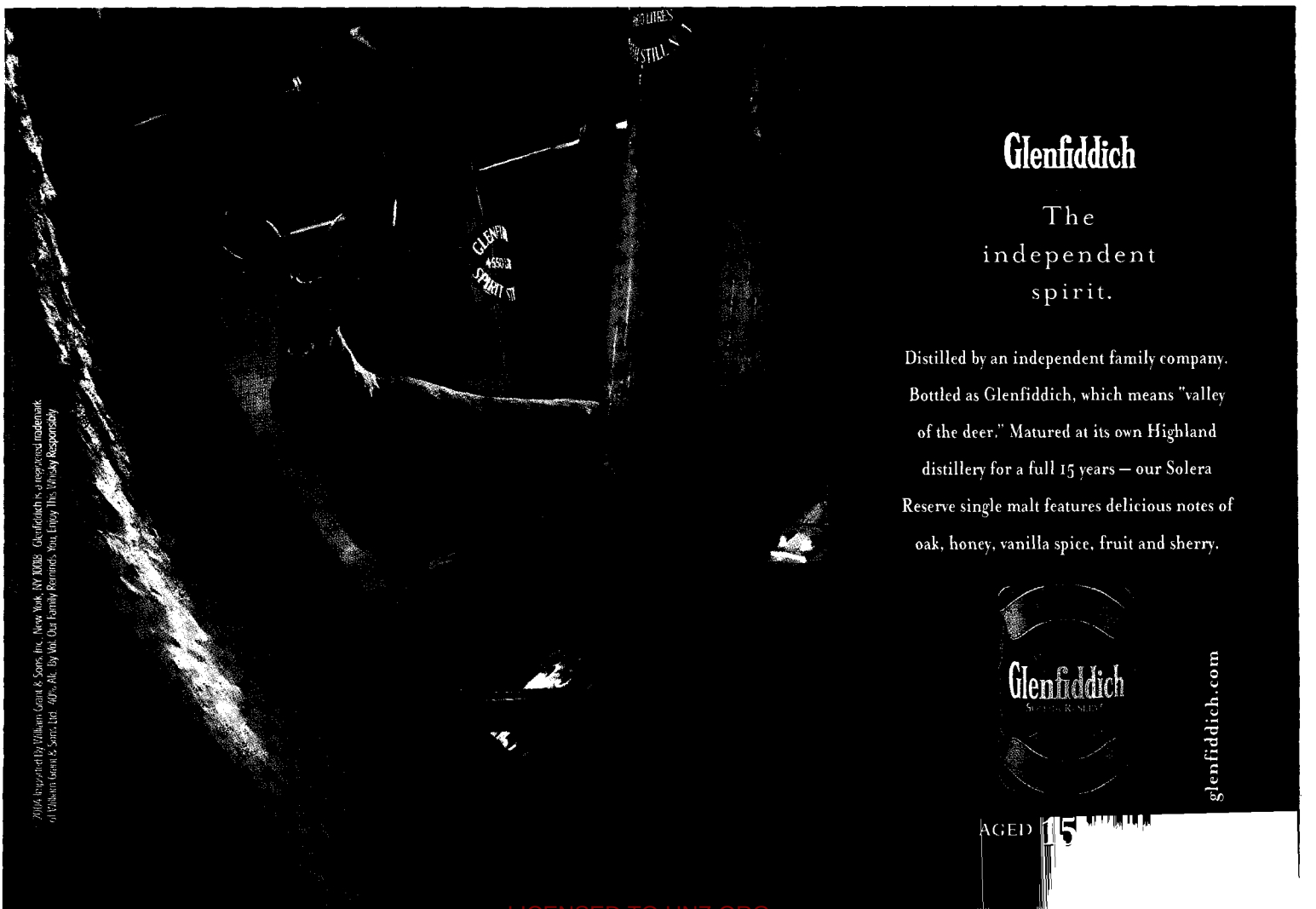
seeds badly in need of enlightenment—could barely restrain its condescension when reporting this. The delegates, sneered the paper, "will not be sent to anything that touches on contemporary issues." No Tony Kushner, no transvestites, no goats—just entertainment.

■ If you spend much time exchanging e-mails with friends and colleagues, you have probably by now seen the table of statistics purporting to show average IQ by state, with each state's average income and 2000 presidential choice written in alongside. At the top of the list are Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, with average IQs of 113, 111, and 111, average incomes in the mid twenty thousands, and 2000 presidential choices Gore, Gore, and Gore. Bottom of the list are Idaho, Utah, and Mississippi, with IQs down in the mid 80s, incomes around fifteen thousand, and 2000 choices Bush, Bush, and Bush. Neat, huh? You see, the Gore states are smarter than the Bush states, and more successful! Except that the whole thing is a hoax. The correlations are much too good for data of this type, and blogger Steve Sailer has tracked the spurious table back to a spoof cooked up in November 2002. The thing to note here is the eagerness with which lefties have rushed to embrace the hoax, with its supporting premise that IQ really does measure something significant—a notion which, in any other context, they would not touch with a ten-foot pole.

■ Stories of immigrant-driven political movements in California make us cringe; one naturally fears the latest about *la raza*. A little gem out of Orange County, however, provides a refreshing change. There, in Westminster and Garden Grove—home to The O.C.'s Little Saigon—officials are considering proposals to declare the cities "No-Communist Zones," meaning that they would not "condone, welcome, or sanction stops, drive-bys, or visits" by representatives of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Nearby, at Cal-State University Fullerton, students plan to protest if Vietnam is represented only by the flag of the Socialist Republic at their graduation. All three cities are heavily populated by Vietnamese immigrants, many of whom fled torture and brutality after the North's victory in 1975. For those who know Communism's evils first hand, symbols of oppressive regimes hold no kitschy knick-knack appeal; dictators, whether living or silk-screened on T-shirts, are not to be revered. And for anyone weary of Che-as-icon, the work of Orange County's Vietnamese immigrants is a welcome respite—and certainly much better than anything MEChA ever cooks up.

■ A Staten Island man, one Esteban Palafox, has been charged with second-degree assault, a Class D violent felony, a third-degree assault, criminal possession of a weapon in the fourth degree, and, for good measure, endangering the welfare of a child. He faces time in the big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Popular conservative authors pictured (left to right) Dinesh D'Souza, Laura Ingraham, Robert Bork, Ann Coulter, Sean Hannity, Michael Savage, William F. Buckley, and William J. Bennett

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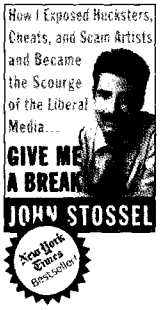
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GIVE ME A BREAK
JOHN STOSSEL
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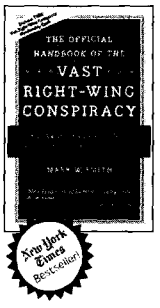

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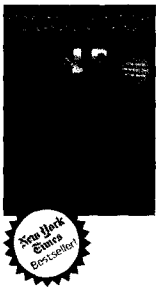

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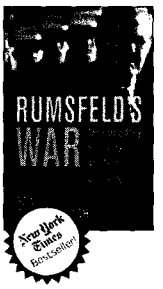

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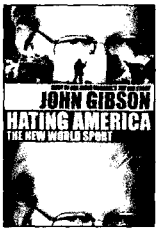

Hating America

Usually a "sport" is fun. Not this time. In *Hating America: The New World Sport*, FOX News' John Gibson explores one of the strangest phenomena of modern times: how America has become the country that people around the world love to hate – and not just in the Arab world, where anti-American lies and distortions emanate from the highest levels.

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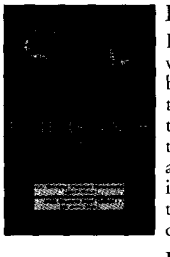

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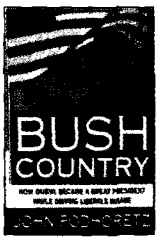

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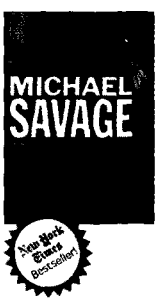

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In this follow-up to his #1 NYT bestseller, *The Savage Nation*, Savage picks up where he left off. *The Enemy Within* focuses on the dangers assailing American life, showing how liberalism—the enemy within—is corrupting our churches, schools, courts, military, even our families
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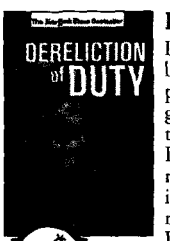

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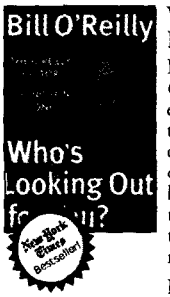

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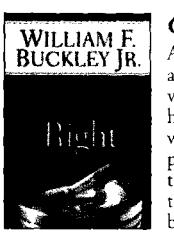

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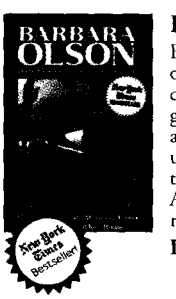

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THE WEEK...

house. What heinous crime did Mr. Palafox allegedly commit? He yelled at his son, Esteban Jr., for skipping school and then hit him a few times with a convenient stick of beef jerky, which court papers referred to as a "dangerous weapon." The defendant insisted the punishment fit the crime, adding, touchingly, "I want to live good. I want my child to live good too." No doubt we should be shocked at this reckless display of brutality toward an errant minor, but yet, the ancient Chinese proverb comes to mind: Kill the chicken to scare the monkey. Esteban Jr. will surely think twice before playing truant again and we expect him to enjoy a good life as a result.

AT WAR

Commitments

As damaging as the pictures of abuse at Abu Ghraib have been to our cause in Iraq, we suspect that the pictures of thugs in Fallujah celebrating their supposed victory over U.S. Marines have done more damage. A cardinal principle of the occupation should be that we mean what we say. We said, in blunt and even swaggering terms, that we would clean out Fallujah. Then we pulled up short, badly undermining our credibility. The Fallujah deal may well encourage other violent factions to ensconce themselves in urban areas and to defy the U.S. If our resolve in Iraq isn't absolutely beyond question, the country's benign forces will avoid extending themselves to help us and will instead keep their heads down, trying to limit their exposure against the day we pull out.

Abu Ghraib and Fallujah have led to a new, more intense round of intraconservative finger-pointing over "who lost Iraq." Neoconservatives especially blame Don Rumsfeld for not authorizing enough troops for Iraq. Rumsfeld partisans blame the State Department for blocking Ahmad Chalabi and his Iraqi National Congress from assuming authority in Iraq. There is some merit in each argument, and in still other proffered explanations for our problems in Iraq. But the bottom line, one that neoconservatives in particular are loath to admit, is that the nation-building project in Iraq has proven much more difficult than expected. We underestimated the brokenness of Iraqi society and its resistance to being fixed by us. No one said it would be easy, but neither did anyone say it would be this hard, in this particular way. Certainly none of us who supported the war did. It is unlikely that anything—more troops, Chalabi, whatever—would have been a magic bullet.

But nothing going on in Iraq is quite as alarming as the panic of our political class about it. We have been there a year, really no time at all. Local elections have been held, a free and vigorous press has been established, and the infrastructure has been greatly improved. This is not nothing. There are still encouraging signs on the ground. Protests against Moqtada al-Sadr in the south have been growing, demonstrating that most Shiites reject his radicalism and oppose Iranian influence in the country. Two issues ago, NR argued that we needed to lower expectations in Iraq—to accept that a truly liberal democracy is not in the offing, at least not anytime soon. But since then expectations have plummeted beyond all reason. Even stalwart hawks such as Andrew Sullivan are in a panic. The emerging conventional wisdom is that Iraq is an unrecoverable disaster. Make no mistake: Iraq still may become that, but we need to muster all our resources and shrewdness to try to avoid it.

The administration has rightly decided to keep troop levels at 135,000 rather than draw them down. Message: We won't cut and run. Every effort must be made to crush the insurgency. Fallujah was a missed opportunity that cannot be repeated. Meanwhile, the political process is of the utmost importance. The ability of the U.S. to guide political developments is waning as tolerance for the occupation declines. Hence our turn to U.N. representative Lakhdar Brahimi. He provides a useful cushion between us and the new interim government scheduled to take power on June 30. There are limits, however, to the legitimacy that any government picked by us or the U.N. can achieve. A transition plan that has already been serially readjusted may need readjusting again. We should attempt, as soon as logistically possible, to create a government that is at least crudely representative, whether through a caucus system to form some sort of meaningful representative assembly, or through makeshift elections before conditions are ideal for them (because they may not be ideal for a long time).

The administration has rightly decided to keep troop levels at 135,000 rather than draw them down. Message: We won't cut and run.

Throughout Bush's presidency there have been inflection points when his administration seemed adrift and about to be torn asunder by its divisions. At these moments, Bush has always seized the initiative. This must be one of them. He has to energetically defend the Iraq war at home and abroad, give the military and the rebuilding process the massive resources they need, and correct the listlessness of his policy on the ground. America's position in the world for years to come depends on it, as does his presidency.

AT WAR II

Abuses

THE pictures from Abu Ghraib look like stills from a demented reality show: young men and women, an exotic locale, sex or the simulation thereof. The American prison guards took the pictures for their own benefit, a private *Jerry Springer*, but after *60 Minutes II* broadcast them, they went global.

Thanks to the involvement of Americans, Abu Ghraib

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has become synonymous with the abuse and torture of prisoners—one year after the 25 years during which Saddam Hussein used it, and other prisons, to mutilate, not humiliate, and to kill, not torture, thousands upon thousands of Iraqis. Abu Ghraib's late-blooming notoriety is a tribute both to our narcissism and to our sensibilities, in the best sense: America is only interested in the crimes of Americans, and America does consider the brutalizing of prisoners to be a crime.

The Army's reaction to the offenses committed within its ranks was swift and commendable. On January 13, a specialist with the 800th Military Police Brigade reported the abuse. By the 16th, Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez had ordered and announced a criminal investigation. On the 19th, he ordered a separate administrative investigation, which would be carried out by Maj. Gen. Antonio M. Taguba. Taguba's report, which found widespread abuse, and which recommended that guards play no role in interrogating their prisoners, was delivered by the middle of March. The accused soldiers, suspended from duty in February, await trial. The Army's reaction gives the lie to the notion, beloved of its critics, that America's decision not to apply the Geneva Conventions to al-Qaeda and Taliban prisoners sent a signal of lawlessness. Laws were broken in Iraq, but the law pursued the miscreants.

But the Army, running up the chain of command through the Pentagon to the commander-in-chief, was slow to recognize the impact that the story, and especially its images, would have. In a revealing comment during his otherwise successful testimony before Congress, secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld said he hadn't "been focused on the war of ideas, to be honest with you." Time we focused. The Terror War, in all its multifarious pieces, is fought on many places besides the battlefield.

The Army's reaction to the offenses committed within its ranks was swift and commendable. But the Army was slow to recognize the impact that the story, and especially its images, would have.

We should also ask how Abu Ghraib fits into larger patterns of American culture. The presence of women in the gruesome revels was disturbing, and predictable. Effective discipline cannot be maintained in an officially unisex army. The humiliations in Abu Ghraib mimic humiliations reputedly practiced in American prisons, on American inmates. We want to send criminals to jail, not to compulsory-sex clubs.

The Abu Ghraib story fed one aspect of American life that is ancient, and well understood: congressional grandstanding. Among the most egregious solons was Sen. John McCain, who mused to one friendly reporter (no other kind ever questions him) that the North Vietnamese never subjected him "to sexual humiliation and degradation." No: McCain started humiliating himself when he began imagining that he was the moral compass of American politics.

When the world piles on, the thought crosses the mind that it is irksome to be held to a higher standard. This is a foolish thought: The higher standard is the definition of American life. We went to war to defend it from jihadists and their patrons. We will, and should, police ourselves even as we defeat them.

MARRIAGE

Before the Storm

By order of its supreme court, Massachusetts will start giving marriage licenses to same-sex couples on May 17. We are not sure what will then happen. Will a public opposed to same-sex marriage be outraged enough to force corrective action? Or will it quickly grow used to the idea? How long will it take for other state courts to import Massachusetts marriages to their jurisdictions? Our hope is that the public reaction to Massachusetts will force the passage of a constitutional amendment blocking the courts from imposing same-sex marriage or civil unions. As we wait to see what happens, it may be a good time to restate our reasons for supporting an amendment.

We support an amendment for two basic reasons: We oppose both judicial lawlessness and same-sex marriage. Many conservatives seem tongue-tied on both points at the moment. It is sometimes supposed that opposition to same-sex marriage is legitimate only if it can be shown that it would have negative consequences that social scientists can measure: if it would reduce rates of marital stability, or by some chain of causes prove bad for children. We do not doubt that same-sex marriage would have substantial negative social consequences. But these consequences would derive from a more fundamental moral flaw. The law would now be teaching that marriage is not what it is, and is what it is not; it would be teaching that same-sex relationships have the same moral status, and should have the same social status, as marriages.

Marriage would not exist in the first place if the conceiving of children were not a regular consequence of heterosexual sex, and it would not have any legal importance if the law were held to have no role in shaping a society's morality. Marriage regulates and ennobles the natural truth of heterosexual coupling, making that coupling the biological foundation of a complete sharing of life. Our culture and law have moved away from this idea of marriage in many ways, but not entirely. We do not need legal changes that move marriage, and thus society, even further away from an orientation toward the rearing of children by their parents.

One common confusion can be dispelled here. We are not saying that we oppose same-sex marriage because homosexuality is immoral. It's more the other way around. An adverse judgment of homosexuality rests on the *prior* judgments that sex properly belongs to marriage and that homosexual unions cannot be marriages.

If same-sex marriage were triumphing as a result of popular support, it would be pointless to try to stop it by constitutional amendment. But that is not what is happening. Judges are imposing it on the theory that constitutional guarantees of

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equality and due process entail it. But the law discriminates against no person by maintaining marriage as what it is. The law makes no inquiries into sexual desire: A gay man and a lesbian can get married in any state, if they so choose. The question here is one of definition, not eligibility.

Judges have the power, indeed the duty, to vindicate individual rights that the people, acting through legislatures and the formal amendment process, have decided the government should recognize. It cannot plausibly be said that the people ever decided that two persons of the same sex have a right to marry each other. That judges nonetheless are capable of reaching this result is a testament to the way we have become used to their seizing certain constitutional terms as a warrant for freewheeling political philosophizing. That kind of amendment from the bench now threatens to take another important subject from the people's jurisdiction. We should say no, and the only way to do that is by a constitutional amendment.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Return to Reform

In his 2000 campaign, President Bush promised to reform Social Security by allowing individuals to invest some of their funds. That promise helped Bush reduce the Democratic advantage on the issue. In December 2001, a commission appointed by the president outlined some reform options and explained how private accounts could help solve Social Security's financing problem while also yielding other benefits.

The elections the next November took place under adverse circumstances for supporters of personal accounts: near the bottom of a bear market, and in the aftermath of corporate-accounting scandals. Democrats pounced. Yet Republicans who supported the idea won hard-fought Senate races in Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, and North Carolina, and House races in Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. The few Republicans who ran away from the idea lost. It would seem to be reasonably well established, then, that personal accounts are a winning issue for Republicans.

Yet the top House Republicans—including Speaker Denny Hastert and Majority Leader Tom DeLay—are still nervous about raising the issue. So far, President Bush has been deferring to their fear by not campaigning on Social Security.

Silence on Social Security makes it impossible for Bush to campaign on his most promising domestic theme: that he is creating an 'ownership society.'

This silence is a mistake for several reasons. It will not prevent Democratic attacks on all the Republicans for wanting to throw Granny in the snow. It will keep Bush from building a mandate for reform. And it will, therefore, all but guarantee domestic drift and even larger government in Bush's second term. That assumes, of course, that he gets one. But silence on Social Security makes it impossible for Bush to campaign on his most promising domestic theme: that he is creating an "ownership society" in which people have greater control over their futures.

The White House has been trying to bring the House leaders on board. If they continue to balk, however, it will be up to Bush to make it clear that the Republican party stands for personal accounts. Bush has already provided leadership on the issue. This is no time to stop.

notes & asides

The Conservative Spirit

WFB's keynote address to the Philadelphia Society's gala 40th-anniversary meeting in Chicago, April 30

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary: The trouble with this assignment is that there is so much to do, at least so much that I want to do. And since the auspices tonight are libertarian, that which I want to do, I shall of course proceed to do.

It will strike cynical members of this assembly that I speak kindly of Lee Edwards immediately following his speaking well of me. But he should not be penalized by my ignoring him, simply because he has not ignored me.

I keep wondering when Lee Edwards will receive the critical attention he has earned with his continuing work as historian of our movement. His most recent book, the history of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, is wise, penetrating, and readable. His brief history of the Philadelphia Society, published in this weekend's program, is a remarkable feat of research and organization. Among other of his revelations, I am pleased to be reminded that I put up one hundred dollars to launch the Philadelphia Society's bank account, forever rupturing my relations with the bank, which used to be friendly to me, but now spent its time coping with the Society's overdrafts.

Indeed, my concern over the Society's financial distresses is more regular than my irregular participation in our proceedings. That concern has been at one level steadfast, at another, reckless. I remember trying anxiously to reach Senator Goldwater on the phone years ago because I needed his vote before the end of a trustees' meeting at noon the next

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day, in order to effect a grant for the Philadelphia Society.

I couldn't locate him. He was off somewhere flying his airplane. In desperation, I sent a telegram to all seven of our fellow trustees, registering approval of the proposed grant to the Philadelphia Society. I signed it, "Best regards, Barry M. Goldwater."

I was enormously relieved, when his airplane finally landed and I was able to tell him what I had done, to hear him say, "Fine, okay." He added, "When I'm not at the Senate, you can just send a telegram registering my vote." It was an enormous relief to me that he approved retroactively my use of his name, which also lightened prosecutorial obligations of the FBI.

* * *

You think you can stop me naming names? Well, you can't. The most economical way to put it is, What would our movement have done if Ed Feulner had never been born?

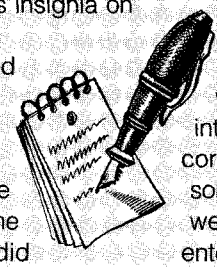
There is of course the popular fiction that he has wandered about all these years with three twin brothers, attending to our needs, introducing our meetings, writing our books, congratulating us on our good deeds, lamenting the causes of our misfortunes, and arranging for a Mass when we die. But enough of that. He is the most remarkable biological phenomenon since *Pithecanthropus erectus*, and I hope that, before too long, they will name a tower, a city, or a state after him. When that happens, I hope to be alive and to be there, as, I know, all of you fellow Philadelphians will be, including Stan Evans, if he has finished his book on McCarthy.

There are others bound to this Society whom I admire and am indebted to. But I tax the limits of your time, and my own patience, and so close with a full-fledged note about the Commodore.

Consider only the mentions of Don Lipsett already made in the program. I know of nobody anywhere whose personality so suffused the organization he represented. And, in his case, this did not mean only the Philadelphia Society. His affiliations with light and truth had stretched back to the Foundation for Economic Education. He went from there to *National Review*, where in 18 months he created absolute chaos in the Circulation Department; but when he left, he left us tearful at the prospect of life without his inattentions, and without him in the office every day.

His illustrious career, with Vice Commodore Norma Lipsett, who is here tonight, is recounted in Bill Campbell's essay in the program, and I have to add only that his character truly affected this organization. There was a benignity there which seemed to detoxify any malign culture that was stirring. The puffs from his pipe didn't exactly dissipate ideological or historical or philosophical differences, but they managed to convey to us that life would go on, strengthening the one impulse dormant in all of us, namely that we would never permit anything that would disappoint Don Lipsett.

Don's powers of persuasion, quietly, sweetly exercised with a smile and a little self-effacement, could wring manna from desert soil. It was, I think, his ability to produce a corporate jet at just the right moment, to address this or that emergency which, untended, would keep a desperately desired guest speaker from going or from coming, that brought on his designation as the Commodore. He went along with the act, to the point of emblazoning an admiral's insignia on his stationery.



Don Lipsett never asked too much, which is why when he did ask for something, it was granted as the only alternative to lifelong self-hatred. The Commodore of course did not tell his friends, not even Ed Feulner, that leukemia had been detected, and no one had had any advance notice when the news came that he was gone, the most attractive and selfless American to figure prominently in the revival of the conservative spirit.

* * *

Am I done? Well, yes. I have nothing left over for Milton Friedman or Russell Kirk or Adam Smith or Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn.

You hardly want, let alone need, a catalogue of unfinished national business. For one thing, that which is unfinished will remain so. One reason for this is that the reduction in the size of the state is an asymptotic enterprise. Eliminate the state, and one has only ugly anarchy and the absolutely predictable loss of liberty. So that exercises in the limitation of the state have to be done on finer canvases than some, even some members of this Society, have enjoyed drawing on for substitute constitutional blueprints.

Here is a focus I find both useful and elusive. It begins by asking how we objectify privations that are traceable to state activity.

I have in the past recommended that conservatives take advantage of the popular acceptance of the theory of the slippery slope. We should adopt the metaphor for our own purposes. The critical intelligentsia have argued, since the initial prohibition of the novel *Ulysses*, that if you set out to censor *Deep Throat*, the next thing you know you will—inexorably—be censoring James Joyce.

I have pondered skeptically this teleological enormity, the assumption that we can't define a difference between the two, but I grant the usefulness of that line of argument, the perils of the slippery slope.

An attempt to appropriate it wholesale in the matter of taxation introduces correlative questions. The corresponding position to zero censorship would be zero taxation. Since we cannot have that in any earthly enterprise, we have played with variations on this ideal.

One of us, in a lovely fantasy, proposed that taxes should be paid voluntarily. The proposal, as will not surprise, proved to have no legs.

The alternative of the flat tax incorporates as its dynamic engine the assumption that no tax can ever be

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enacted, in a democratic society, which imposes inordinate taxation on anyone. Anyone, under the flat tax, is—everyone. It is impossible to single out for victimization anybody, or any class, under strict flat-tax dispensations.

That of course is the primary reason the flat tax has not been written into law. That, plus the sociological point made by Milton Friedman, which is that the great national lobbying enterprise, in which are engaged not only individual lobbyists but also federal agencies, corporate agents, and state legislatures, would suddenly face disfranchisement, if there were no tax code on which to practice their pressures and seductions.

But there is no reason not to get on with producing a tax index that would convey, state by state, the fiscal statist impositions on citizens' lives. Which is to say, a number that informs the resident of every location what is the level of taxation where he lives, adding together federal and state income taxes, payroll taxes, property taxes, and sales taxes.

It is likely that the whole, hypnotic process of assimilation is at work, even as the withholding of taxes, including the payroll tax, succeeded in concealing to the point of near invisibility what it is that is actually being extracted at the source.

The tax allotment in America is the easiest to objectify. Much, much more difficult are the regulatory impositions. They can't be weighed, often cannot be seen, and sometimes are not even suspected, that flypaper that attracts impediments to your catching a flight, building a house, mowing your lawn, or educating your child.

The relatively scant popular reaction to those impositions on us by taxation and regulation calls up thought on why there is this insensibility. The most obvious reason is that people get used to things. Those of you who ever saw the play *My Sister Eileen* will remember how Eileen and her sister suspended unquestioningly all conversation every four minutes, to let the elevated train pass by.

But there is another perspective at hand which we need to consider, not merely to criticize, but to deliberate deeply. It is that an affluent society can afford extravagances ill suited to poorer nations.

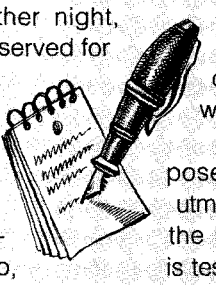
I noticed some months ago the remark of a cosmopolitan Englishman who had been asked about persistent British unemployment, which had sat there for many years at about 10 percent. He said that all that those figures revealed was that some of his fellow citizens preferred not to work. "I think," he said, "that unemployment is something we can afford."

Well of course it is, and we in America can "afford" subsidies of various kinds, which is different from saying that, in detached thought, we approve exactions from the public purse extrinsic to safety and justice.

Adam Smith did teach us that we correctly impose upon the state the burden of paying for public monuments.

The image sneaks its way into the imagination: Are the unemployed, in an expanded focus, entitled to pass as a monument to what an affluent society can sustain? As a kind of testimonial to its latitudinarian impulses?

The easiest answer to that question, and almost certainly the correct one, is No. Such extensions of what Adam Smith acknowledged as social embellishments are the business not of the state, but of the YMCA. Still, a fugitive thought to take to bed tonight—or another night, tonight's thought being reserved for gratification at having spent time in one another's company.



So we must sleep well, even though there are always grounds for discouragement. But those who, staring the data hard in the face, are driven to inconsolability, do well to guard against that temptation.

Richard Posner observed in a column in the *Wall Street Journal* on Wednesday that conservatives have a duty to be cheerful, because we have no right to be disappointed by failures, knowing as we do about the limitations of the state, and the weaknesses of human beings. Mr. Posner is surely correct, and surely that counsel of his shone always through the face and the attitude toward life of Don Lipsett.

We have many forebears; Albert Jay Nock is but one, and his investment in pessimism is not for us. In later years I have come to admire Mr. Nock more for how he said what he had to say, than for what he had to say.

We are devoted here to the proposition that what we do and say and write *does* matter, does have effect. Mr. Nock wrote in the closing pages of his book *Our Enemy the State*, "I would be the first to acknowledge that no results of the kind which we agree to call practical could accrue to the credit of a book of this order, were it a hundred times as cogent as this one—no results, that is, that would in the least retard the State's progress in self-aggrandizement, and thus modify the consequences of the State's course."

But manifestly there has been a slowing down of statist impositions, even if not on the scale the Philadelphia Society seeks. Mr. Nock was the total platonist in respect of what can be achieved on earth. As for the efforts all of us here undertake, we "might indeed," in his language, "be thought bound to do [such things] as a matter of abstract duty." He says of the remnant that they—we—do indeed "have an intellectual curiosity, sometimes touched with emotion, concerning the august order of nature"—never mind that what we do is of no purpose.

But of course it does have purpose. It could even be held, with utmost seriousness, that the work of the Philadelphia Society—and this is testimony primarily to our meetings here with one another—is itself proof of our substantiality. I have been with you from the beginning, and my investment of one hundred dollars in our Society, I insist—and I tell this to our cherished bankers—has surely yielded a historic harvest. I am in your debt, and so is the Republic.

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■ AT WAR ■

Onward

Neocons, real-cons, and what we do now

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

SOME of my best friends are neoconservatives. I am occasionally mistaken for one (though full-fledged neocons think me heterodox because of my support for restrictions on immigration). And I often find myself sympathizing with their foreign-policy conclusions even when I dissent from the arguments by which they justify them.

That is particularly so in relation to Iraq, because the two main themes that separate neocons from conservative realists like myself (hereinafter real-cons) *seem* to impinge on the Iraq debate far more than they actually do. The first is the need for allies. In theory, real-cons insist on this and neocons disparage it. The second is the central importance of promoting democracy in U.S. foreign policy. Again in theory, real-cons disparage this as a mirage while neocons promote it fiercely. Reality is inevitably messier than theory. Both these themes enter into the rhetorical debate on Iraq—but when it comes to proposals for action, the camps don't differ very much, and are united against most of the proposals emanating from third parties.

It would be hard to guess this substantial agreement from the recent recriminations that have flowed back and forth among NATIONAL REVIEW, Andrew Sullivan, Ramesh Ponnuru, *The Weekly Standard*, David Brooks in the *New York Times*, Bill Kristol and Bob Kagan jointly in the *Standard*, and Kagan singly in the *Washington Post*. Several neocons have suggested, for instance, that NR's recent editorial attempt to lower expectations and abandon illusions was the prelude to a policy of scuttle. While it is true that anyone preparing the ground for such a policy might begin by lowering expectations, it does not follow that doing so leads inevitably to retreat. Churchill began his country's resistance to Hitlerism with the words: "I have nothing to offer you but blood, toil, tears, and sweat." I call that lowering the nation's sights in a big way. But it was not a prelude to surrender.

In fact, the conservative realists are at least as opposed to cutting and running from Iraq as are the neocons. Nor are their reasons for staying very different. They think that to scuttle would risk turning Iraq into either Afghanistan under the Taliban or the Lebanon of the civil-war period; encourage terrorists exactly as the retreat from Somalia encouraged bin Laden; embolden states like Syria, Iran, and Sudan to resume or increase their support for terror; give states like Libya that have turned away from terrorism an incentive to reconsider; and in general weaken America's and the West's resolve to tackle the entangled problems of nuclear proliferation, rogue and/or failing states, and the spread of Islamist terrorism.

We would find ourselves restrained by an "Iraq Syndrome" in the War on Terror just as we were hobbled by a "Vietnam Syndrome" in our conduct of the Cold War. What complicates the argument is that, if we are honest, we must admit that the disappointing progress of post-war Iraq has already weakened the likelihood that the U.S. will undertake similarly bold interventions in the future even if the threats are serious and undeniable. And further failure in Iraq would mean still greater timidity later.

For this reason a handful of realists (including Gen. William Odom and Amb. Morton Abramowitz) argue that the better course might be to begin a measured withdrawal now: Even if we initially suffer diplomatic reverses as a result, we would soon recover our nerve in response to new challenges as our enemies overreached—as the seizure of the Tehran embassy and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan provoked the revival of U.S. power under Reagan. And we would presumably start that recovery from a stronger position if we had left Iraq—as de Gaulle left Guinea—in good order and at a time plainly of our own choosing rather than clinging to helicopters as chaos overwhelmed Baghdad.

This analysis cannot be dismissed out of hand. It is rooted in our present confusion. But the great majority of realists reject it in favor of staying until a stable Iraqi government has been established. And that conclusion is rooted in an equal-

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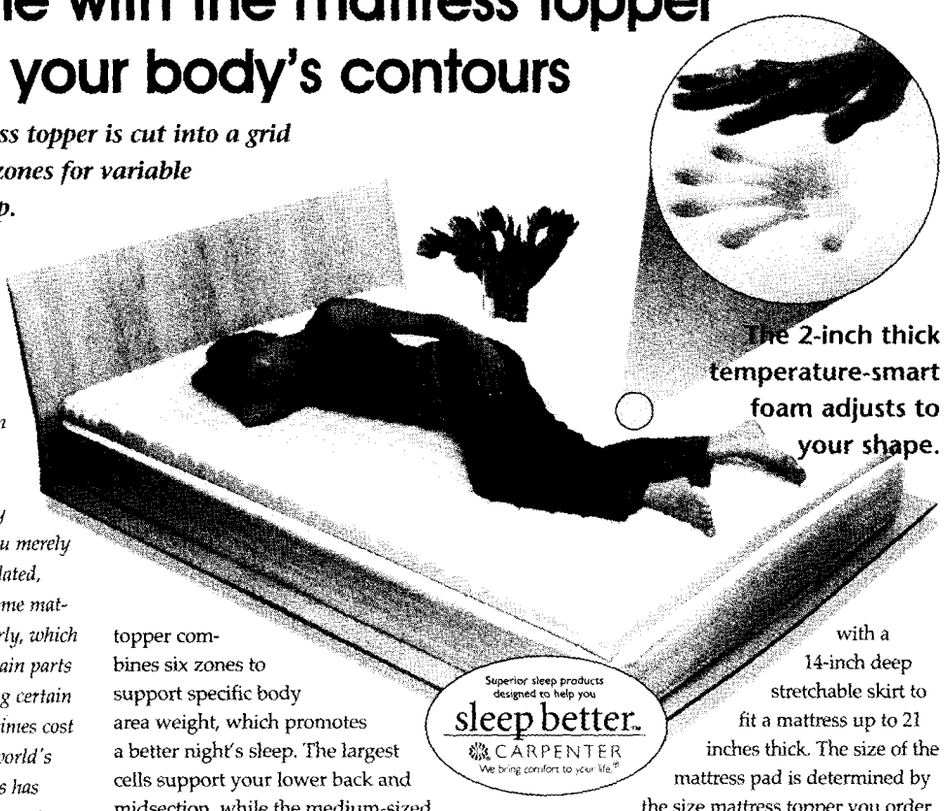

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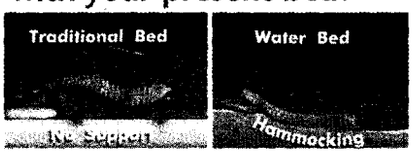

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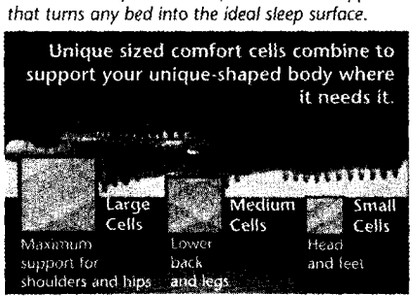
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ly realist analysis, rather than in neoconservative arguments.

If most realists agree with neoconservatives that we must stay and win in Iraq, how do they propose to do so? Almost everyone now believes that the first step is to overcome the panic and despair currently overwhelming many policymakers in Washington. Panic and despair are not actually justified by events in Iraq. Only a few weeks ago the battles of Fallujah and Najaf seemed to portend a general uprising against the Coalition. That uprising never occurred. Najaf is now rising instead against the firebrand cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, who has been marginalized by older and more influential Shiite mullahs. Fallujah too is now peaceful. That peace was bought at a high price—namely, by asking Sunni militias to restore order there, allowing some "foreign" fighters to escape and giving the Arab world the impression that the U.S. blinked in the face of resistance. A clear-cut U.S. victory would have been preferable. But if the present peace holds, it may portend the gradual re-establishment of security throughout Iraq as the desire of most Iraqis for a quiet life trumps the forces of violence.

A second step must be to establish one undivided U.S. policy toward Iraq. So far there have been two conflicting policies that have now mutated into two broad theories of what went wrong. The first blames the Pentagon both for not introducing sufficient troops into Iraq and for alienating the influential Sunni minority by, for instance, disbanding the Iraqi army. The second theory—outlined by Barbara Lerner for *National Review Online*—blames the State Department and the CIA for systematically frustrating the Pentagon's original scheme to supplement American forces with Iraqi National Council militias and for plotting to install friendly Baathist generals and politicians with the help of the U.N. Both theories hold some water since each policy stalemated the other. But the ultimate responsibility for the resulting confusion rests with President Bush. He forgot Melbourne's defining principle of cabinet government—"It doesn't matter what we say, gentlemen, as long as we all say the same thing"—and thus failed to impose unanimity on his administration. That must now change.

But in what direction? Here the divisions exist within both neocons and real-cons rather than between them. In particular William Kristol and Robert Kagan, the leading neocon strategists, have been calling for the resignation of Donald Rumsfeld because of his resistance to bringing in more U.S. troops, while some of their usual followers seemingly prefer the Pentagon's approach. The weakness of the Kristol-Kagan position is that Rumsfeld's departure would plainly give more influence to Secretary of State Powell and the CIA—and that would tend to produce policies that lean toward the Baathists and entrench a central U.N. role that would ordinarily make the neocons nervous. Nor are realists too pleased by it, since it might well result in a Baghdad government more concerned with pleasing Cairo, Riyadh, and Kofi Annan than with helping Washington.

The obvious escape from this cul-de-sac (since most people now think that the original INC-Chalabi option is no longer viable) is to hand power over to an Iraqi government. All sides agree on this. But neoconservatives have long argued that such a government must be a democratic one. Kristol and Kagan, moreover, recently raised their bet on this by calling for early elections that would establish an elected government in Baghdad before the end of the year. They point out, reasonably enough, that an elected government would at least begin with greater legitimacy than a government selected by Kofi Annan's representative, Lakhdar Brahimi. It would therefore be able to seek international assistance with some prospect of success.

An elected government and a democratic government are not quite the same thing.

Real-cons are not enamored in principle of promoting democracy as a main aim of foreign policy. So why did Ramesh Ponnuru, an NR realist, have no difficulty in endorsing this proposal? The underlying reason is very simple: An elected government and a democratic government are not quite the same thing. When real-cons express skepticism about establishing democracy in Iraq, they do not mean that it would be difficult to hold elections to choose a government. Nothing simpler. The Soviets held such procedures all the time.

But democracy is more than elections. It incorporates liberal institutions such as a free press and it rests upon widespread social attitudes such as the principle of a loyal opposition. If these are not present, democracy will not survive. As the history of Latin America demonstrates passim, elected governments can collapse and yield to authoritarian coups or even adopt authoritarianism themselves in order to remain in office. Since these social pre-conditions are not present in Iraq, democracy will survive only if some external force is present for many years to shore it up while the Iraqi people learn democracy by doing it. Democracy would then survive as the ward of neocolonialism. Where is the required force to come from?

Real-cons would wish it to be provided by the U.S. and its allies since these are the only nations and institutions that are concerned both with Western interests and with Iraqi welfare. Neocons used to be rather dismissive of the need for allies, seeing them as a drag on American initiative. But they have come round to welcoming allies and even to hoping that France, Germany, and Russia would send troops to assist an elected Iraqi government. That may be a conversion too far: Few foreign governments will send troops to Iraq until they see a real improvement in security there. All of which means that U.S. troops will be needed for some time to come—for a few years if a stable Iraqi government is the aim, for a few decades if a genuinely democratic Iraq is wanted.

There is, however, no gratitude in politics. And the more democratic the Iraqi regime, the less reliable it will be as a supporter of U.S. and Western interests. In particular it is unlikely to be friendly to Israeli concerns. But an Iraqi regime installed by the U.N. and the "international community" is even less likely to be friendly to the U.S. since it would reflect their marked hostility to American "unilateralism" and the West in general. So if early elections are a roundabout method for reducing the role and influence of the U.N. in Baghdad, both real-cons and neocons can agree in supporting them. **NR**

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■ AT WAR II

A Great Iraqi

Kanan Makiya is his nation's conscience

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

KANAN Makiya is a remarkable man. If all Iraqis were like him, the country would be a flourishing democracy. His is the voice of reason and reasonableness. Humanist intellectuals of his quality are scarce, and generally speaking they have little or no political influence wherever they happen to live. But wait: Makiya is the author of *The Republic of Fear* and *Cruelty and Silence*, published in 1989 and 1993 respectively.

At that time, Saddam Hussein was depicting himself as a nationalist uniting all Arabs and standing up to the United States and the West, and many Arabs believed it, or pretended to. The truth was very different: Saddam was only devising excuses for tyranny. These two groundbreaking books exposed the suffering of Iraqis and the moral degradation of those who apologized for it. Here were open political challenges around which a formal opposition—and public opinion in the West—could muster. Makiya has been called the Iraqi Solzhenitsyn, and the compliment does not seem so extravagant.

Now in his mid-fifties, he left Baghdad in 1968 to study architecture at MIT. His father, a retired architect, lives in London, and his mother is English, daughter of a headmaster, which explains Makiya's soft-spoken Oxford accent. Staying on in the States, he has become a professor at Brandeis, where he gives courses on totalitarianism in the Arab context. Had he himself ever been tortured or victimized in person, he says, he could never have written his books.

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Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor and the author of, among many other books, *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*

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up for him after the 1991 Gulf War. Several million Baath Party documents were seized in liberated Kuwait and in Iraqi Kurdistan, and these revealed the inner workings of an Arab police state in all its fascist ugliness. Makiya's brainwave has been to gather the documentation together and preserve it as the Iraq Memorial Foundation, an IMF easily distinguished from another body with those initials. Publication on the widest scale is envisaged, probably in collaboration with Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

Ahmad Chalabi and his Iraqi National Congress turned to Makiya to present the case for Iraqi liberation. Both men are secular Shiites who aim to speak for all Iraqis. They have been central participants in the lobbying and turf wars so damagingly waged up and down the corridors of power in Washington. Makiya is too discreet to complain about the systematic attempts by the State Department to denigrate and marginalize him, Chalabi, and the INC. More a thinker than a politician by nature, he was the man called on to draft a constitution with the clear goal of sharing power equitably between the Shiite majority and the Sunni and Kurdish and other minorities. Common sense—as well as justice—dictates that the only viable outcome for Iraq is some form of federalism along these lines.

Kanan Makiya

In the days immediately after Saddam's overthrow, Makiya hurried to Iraq full of patriotic enthusiasm, and grateful to be in a free country. In one of the more elegant districts of Baghdad is the house that his father designed for the family, and where he himself grew up. Twelve American lieutenant colonels were inhabiting it. He wrote a letter to L. Paul Bremer, who saw to it that the house was turned over to him to be the Constitutional Research Office, and now it is evolving into the headquarters of the Memorial Foundation. Somewhere between 50 and 100 million documents will eventually complete the collection. The intention is to preserve the record along the lines of the Holocaust Museum in Washington and the Gauck Commission in Berlin, which houses the dossiers of the Stasi (the secret police of Communist East Germany). The shame of the past also serves as a warning for the future.

In Communist days, dissidents set themselves a task of a seemingly impossible magnitude, yet they displayed the energy, purpose, and good humor that come from the confident pursuit of truth and justice. Makiya is in that same mold. Passing through London, he's staying in the tranquil Bloomsbury apartment of his family. He fetches a laptop and takes me through what he has stored on it: images of shelving, heaped box files catalogued by subject, folders piled in vaults from floor to ceiling. So thorough were the Baathist police that they even recorded rumors. The evidence here will provide the basis of the trials of Saddam and his clique. Salam Chalabi, nephew of Ahmad and a London-trained lawyer, has the responsibility of preparing the legal commission overseeing the trials, and he is married to a Makiya.

Right in the heart of Baghdad is the Zawra Park complex, a huge expanse that Saddam dedicated to himself, marking its eastern and western limits with bronze casts of his forearms, each brandishing a sword to form colossal arches that rise slightly higher than Napoleon's Arc de Triomphe in Paris. This example of dictator's kitsch and megalomania is the subject of another of Makiya's books, *The Monument* (1991). Nobody has yet decided what to do about these arches, but the entire Zawra Park is being given over to the Memorial Foundation. Makiya hopes to hold a competition for a future layout, including a building for the archives. The United Nations retains about $100 million skimmed one way or another off its administration of the Oil-for-Food program that allowed Saddam effectively to nullify sanctions through the '90s. The journalist Claudia Rosett has been the first to propose that the U.N. make amends by endowing the Memorial Foundation with at least some of these ill-gotten funds.

Arab political culture is "infected," as Makiya puts it, and is now at its lowest ebb ever. He speculates that defeat in the Six Day War of 1967 was so painful that Arabs are in denial about their society. For him, it is crucial that no more generations be brought up on "the cruelties of Arab nationalism." We are now "at a turning point," he says. "The West could engage with the Arab world without supporting dictatorships." Democracy is "doable," in a favorite word of his. All the same, current violence has obliged him to postpone his return to Baghdad. "I'm on all sorts of death lists: Ex-Baathists, foreign Arab insurgents, and so on would like to kill me."

The violence in Fallujah, as he sees it, was essentially a local issue involving small numbers of Iraqis and non-Iraqis. Events in Najaf, in contrast, can jeopardize the country's future. Makiya unhesitatingly calls the cleric Moqtada al-Sadr a thug. "Moqtada is totally the product of the Baathist system and its criminal elements, he's using the only methods he knows, and he can't be allowed to get away with it. Otherwise he'll go on to represent the remnants of the old regime among the Shiites, and reproduce it." Moqtada's henchmen murdered the rival and moderate Ayatollah al-Khoei—one of the killers is in American custody—and this has to be a matter for the courts. The Shiites must resolve the confrontation with Moqtada for themselves, "in house," to use another favorite word of Makiya's. "You can't expect the Sunnis to participate, and the Kurds have a specific agenda. The burden of the country lies with wise and responsible Shiite leadership." He's not going to criticize American policy except to say, "Lack of reliance on Iraqis is the problem."

The program he originally sketched out for Chalabi and the INC still stands, he hopes: expand and re-jig the Governing Council after June 30, choose a prime minister, find a cabinet, devise tripartite power-sharing among the Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds, hold elections next year for a Constituent Assembly—that's the really critical step—appoint a committee out of it to approve the constitution, and then have a referendum to legitimize what's been done. It's doable.

Oughtn't he to be the prime minister during the transition to democracy? Taken aback by the question, he shakes his head. "I want to write something personal, a self-critical examination of where we went wrong." Besides, the setting up of his Memorial Foundation will require five to ten years. Yes, that's doable too. **NR**

DOUGLAS GRAHAM

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■ COVER STORY

Rites and Wrongs

Understanding the communion flap

RAMESH PONNURU

In one of Abraham Lincoln's 1860 speeches there is a passage that pours cool scorn on those who claim to think that slavery is wrong, but "denounce all attempts to restrain it": "You will not let us do a single thing as if it was wrong; there is no place where you will allow it to be even called wrong! . . . We must not call it wrong in politics because that is bringing morality into politics, and we must not call it wrong in the pulpit because that is bringing politics into religion."

The abortion debate has followed a similar pattern. Anti-abortion politicians are called theocrats. Now Catholic bishops who insist on maintaining the church's teaching about abortion are being accused of meddling in politics.

Conservative Catholics have long argued that the bishops should deny communion to politicians who support the legality of abortion. But matters are now coming to a head as the Democrats prepare to nominate a presidential candidate who identifies himself as a Catholic but disagrees with his church about the sanctity of human life in its early stages.

The bishops have had time to consider what to do about pro-choice Catholic politicians. It has been 20 years since Mario Cuomo gave a famous speech attempting to legitimate a pro-choice Catholic position. In 1989, the bishop of San Diego attempted to deny communion to a pro-choice legislative candidate, Lucy Killea. But the bishop of Sacramento offered her communion, Killea won her race, and the San Diego example was not followed again. In 1996, Bishop Fabian Bruskewitz of Lincoln, Neb., said that he would excommunicate members of Catholics for a Free Choice. (Excommunication involves not only a denial of communion but sanctions such as the denial of burial on church grounds.) None of his fellow bishops supported him.

In January 2003, however, the Vatican issued a "doctrinal note" reiterating the obligation of Catholic politicians to oppose abortion. Days later, the bishop of Sacramento—not the same one as in 1989—told California governor Gray Davis not to receive communion. (A Davis spokesman chided the bishop for "telling the faithful how to practice their faith.")

This time, other bishops are following. Sean O'Malley, the archbishop of Boston, says that John Kerry should not present himself for communion in his archdiocese. Raymond Burke, archbishop of St. Louis, says the same. New Jersey governor Jim McGreevey agreed not to receive communion after the bishops of Camden, Trenton, and Newark said he shouldn't. Archbishop Charles Chaput of Denver has suggested that Ken Salazar, a candidate for the Senate, is wrong to receive communion while supporting abortion.

The bishops are not of one mind. Cardinal George of Chicago does not favor the denial of communion. Cardinal McCarrick of Washington, D.C., who is heading a task force of American bishops to determine what to do about pro-abortion Catholic politicians, says he is reluctant to use the Eucharist as a "sanction." The task force will report after the elections.

The argument for denying communion is straightforward. Canon law prohibits communion for anyone who "obstinately persists in manifest grave sin." Church teaching could not be clearer that taking unborn human life is a grave sin, as is exposing unborn human beings to killing by denying them legal protection. A Catholic politician who votes to allow abortion is acting unjustly, and his priest should explain this to him.

If the politician persists, then he is either deliberately flouting the requirements of justice or denying the authority of the church to outline those requirements. In either case, he is risking his soul and breaking the church's unity, of which the sacrament of communion is the sign. He is also, by his example, teaching other people, both Catholics and non-Catholics, that a Catholic does not compromise his

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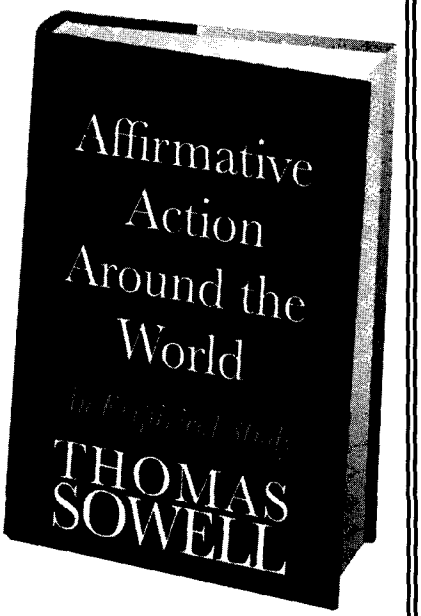

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faithfulness by so voting. He is, in Catholic argot, "giving scandal." To deny communion is not, pace McCarrick, to use it as a political weapon. The point of the denial is not to punish the politician or even to change his behavior (however welcome that would be). Maintaining the integrity of the sacrament of communion is an important goal in its own right for the church, not a means to an end.

Not everyone sees it this way. Kerry says that church officials should not be telling politicians how to vote. Liberals, including Catholic liberals who themselves favor legal protection for the unborn, wonder why the church is not denying communion to politicians who have voted for the death penalty, or the Iraq war. The left-wing *National Catholic Reporter* suggests that a pro-choice Kerry who spent money on social programs could reduce abortion more than a nominally pro-life Bush.

To deny communion is not to use it as a political weapon.

The communion-denying bishops have an answer on each point. The church cannot force legislators to vote one way or another, but can say what the spiritual consequences of their votes are. While the church generally opposes the death penalty, it does not believe its imposition to be gravely unjust, as abortion is. It proposes norms to govern the decisions of statesmen regarding war and poverty, but it leaves to them the prudential judgments about what those norms should dictate. The Pope has never said that faithful Catholics may not fight in Iraq, or implement the death penalty. He *has* said that Catholic doctors may not participate in abortion. And even if some mix of welfare policies brought the abortion rate to zero—a doubtful proposition—the church would still hold the legality of abortion to be an injustice.

Politicians have a special responsibility to promote justice for the unborn. But in principle, any Catholic who lends public support to the cause of legal abortion—a journalist, for example—is giving scandal as well. Nor is abortion the only sin that can, in church teaching, endanger a politician's soul. In 1962, Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans excommunicated segregationist politicians who had tried to block the integration of church schools.

But communion can be denied to sinning politicians only in clear-cut cases. The bishops support the Federal Marriage Amendment. But they recognize that Catholic politicians can object to that amendment for legitimate reasons. If a politician objects to the amendment because he rejects church teachings on sexual morality and the family, and says so in public, that would be a different matter. But even such a politician would not be committing the kind of injustice involved in legal abortion.

Liberals trying to prove the folly of having the bishops deny communion based on abortion politics have pointed to the example of Sen. Rick Santorum. He is a strong pro-lifer himself, but supported his pro-choice colleague Arlen Specter against a pro-life primary challenger. The liberals ask: Should Santorum not receive communion? A few conservatives, upset by his actions in that race, respond: No, he shouldn't.

Both sides are overlooking distinctions. Santorum's responsibilities were very similar to those of the ordinary voter. He was obligated, in choosing his candidate, to take the moral claims of the unborn seriously. If he thought, after serious reflection, that Specter's primary victory was necessary to keep pro-lifers in control of the Senate, then he could support Specter without committing any sin at all. (I think his judgment was incorrect, as it happens.) The moral obligation is to the unborn, not to particular politicians. Santorum's conservative critics are arguing themselves into a corner: On their principles, the bishops will have to deny communion to themselves for not denying it to others. The liberals, meanwhile, are sliding toward the view that communion cannot rightly be denied to anyone. Most of their defenses of Kerry on this question would entail the conclusion that Archbishop Rummel was wrong.

Pro-lifers, whether Catholic or not, should be cheered that the church wants its members to take the demands of justice more seriously. But the bishops' actions are bound to be misunderstood. For one thing, the bishops have been lax in teaching the flock that all grave sins must be repented before communion can be received—so the denial of communion looks more extraordinary than it should. For another, the sex-abuse scandal has made many people less willing to listen to the bishops' moral pronouncements, even when they are right.

The bishops will also get tagged, unfairly, for partisanship. This year they have criticized only Democratic politicians. That's not a church policy; it's a consequence of the decentralization of the church. If the bishop of Albany does not deny communion to the pro-choice Republican governor of New York, George Pataki, other bishops can't make him.

A formally neutral policy will cause more Democrats than Republicans to be denied communion, of course. But the bishops have to tend the Democrats' souls, not their careers. For the same reason, the bishops must not be dissuaded by fear of a public backlash to their actions. The bishops have no responsibility to make sure that one candidate or another wins the election. Even if they knew to a certainty that denying communion to Kerry would help his campaign—even if Bush were pleading with them to leave Kerry alone—they would still have to tell Kerry that he is out of communion with the church.

What effect will any of this have on Kerry's campaign? Catholic swing voters do not tend to be churchgoers, so the bishops may not sway many votes. There may not be much of a backlash, either. Partly that's because no uniform policy has been announced. Also, the instinctive response of politicians has been to argue with their bishops about what Catholicism does and does not teach. The exchange rarely works in the politician's favor.

There's a special problem for John Kerry. As he campaigns around the country, it will always be possible for his aides to find churches where he can receive communion. But each time, it will also be possible for journalists to write stories about the controversy. Kerry is already suffering from the perception that there is a slipperiness to his basic identity. Is he a supporter of the Iraq war or an opponent? Is he a proud Vietnam veteran or a self-confessed war criminal? Now there's another question: Is he a Catholic or not? That can't be helpful. **NR**

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■ **CAMPAIGN 2004**

Uncle Dick Goes to Wal-Mart

The veep on the trail

JAY NORDLINGER

On Air Force Two

It's fairly early in the morning, and Dick Cheney is ready for a day of campaigning. He's going to Wal-Mart—to the Regional Distribution Center in Bentonville, Ark., home of Wal-Mart. The Democrats have decided to be bashers of Wal-Mart. They seldom have a kind word for the world's largest company. John Kerry has denounced Wal-Mart's practices as "disgraceful" and "unconscionable," and many other Dems have been just as harsh.

But the Republicans have decided to be the party of Wal-Mart. This accords with their principles, and it ought to be good politics, too. Wal-Mart has 100 million customers a week. It has countless investors. It has over a million employees. Wal-Mart bashing should come with a cost, shouldn't it?

President Bush is engaged in a little populist campaigning himself today—he's going to Indiana and Michigan, for a bus tour. In fact, his plane has displaced Cheney's at Andrews Air Force Base. The veep's plane might ordinarily be in Position A; but with the president's trip, it has been moved to the left—an unusual position for Cheney to be in.

On Air Force Two, all the TV monitors are tuned to Fox News. One would expect no less. The Cheney staff seems a friendly and content group, and they are very admiring of their boss. One of them points out that Cheney is not a great seeker of publicity; for one thing, he's the first veep in a long time who's not interested in running for president. If he makes the evening news, fine; if he doesn't, no big deal.

After the plane touches down near Bentonville, we all enter the vehicles of the motorcade—press van last (except for a shiny red ambulance from the Bentonville Fire Department). In that van, the young, angel-faced driver has the radio tuned to a religious station. It is blaring about Jesus and salvation. Members of the national press corps seem unused to this. (The driver switches stations.)

When we pull into the Regional Distribution Center, we see a parking lot filled with Wal-Mart trucks, rows and rows, waves and waves, conquering. The vice president enters the building, and shakes hands with a roster of Wal-Mart bigs.

Cheney is "avuncular," as everyone says—it's just true. He's pudgy, shortish—normal-seeming. He is not not-handsome; he simply tends to wash out on television, and in news photos. About Cheney's height, a reporter observes, "He may be short, but Lynne is even shorter. She balances him out nicely." Mrs. Cheney is at the veep's side.

They're given a tour of the facility, a brisk one: the packaging-distribution center, the order-filling module, the pallette-removal area, the packaging-arrival area—bing, bing, bing, bing. I am reminded of the old Art Buchwald routine: the six-minute Louvre. This is more than six minutes, but not all that much more.

The company has passed out some handy facts about this center: for instance, its conveyor system is nearly 20 miles long. Not bad. Wal-Mart used to have a "Made in the U.S.A." theme, but now its theme might as well be "Made Anywhere," and the Regional Distribution Center is packed with foreign goods—though also with "Dr. Thunder," a pitch-like carbonated liquid. The label notes that this is (was?) "Sam's Choice." (We are talking, of course, about the Founder, Sam Walton.)

As Cheney goes from station to station—smiling, listening, questioning, shaking hands—one sees a Stalin-inspects-the-harvest aspect, but it's all sincere and wholesome. Wal-Mart is an extraordinary phenomenon, and its achievements are not trivial.

Before long, it's time for Cheney's speech, for which several hundred employees are assembled. Arkansas's Republican governor, Mike Huckabee, warms up the crowd. He inveighs against John Kerry and the senator's contempt for Wal-Mart—why, "he's probably never shopped at" a Wal-Mart store. (I would guess the same about Teresa.) But, says Huckabee, Bush and Cheney appreciate Wal-Mart, understand all the good it does. They recognize, for example, that the company generates "lots of public-sector dollars." (According to the company, Wal-Mart was responsible for $8.5 billion in sales-tax revenue last year.)

Some of the employees wear blue smocks, stamped with the words "How May I Help You?" (Should be "Can" instead of "May," but who's counting?) A reporter points out the slightly startling fact that we are all surrounded by boxes and boxes of toilet paper.

The White House—or someone—has managed to pull off a positively Deaver-esque tableau: The stage is in front of a mock-up of Sam's original store, a five-and-dime. Very old-timey. It has a long, red-and-white-striped awning, and two delivery trucks are parked on either side. An American flag looks smart. A clutch of happy (and "diverse") employees stand behind the rostrum. As I said, Deaveresque.

After Huckabee has spoken, country

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music blares, with a fellow "singin' about the heartland" (he actually sings those words). Next, a Wal-Mart official leads the crowd in the Wal-Mart cheer. Do you know it? It goes, "Gimme a W, gimme an A, gimme an L," etc. At one point—before the spelling is done—the leader says, "Wiggle it," whereupon the workers shake their booties. Then, "Whose Wal-Mart is it?" The crowd screams, "*My* Wal-Mart." Then, "Who's number one?" "The customer, always. *Hoomph!*" (At least it sounded to me like *hoomph!*)

The cheer is corny, very American, and wonderful.

Another Wal-Mart official emphasizes how patriotic Sam Walton was, receiving the Presidential Medal of Freedom at the end of his dynamic, illustrious life. Then the official calls the Second Couple to the stage. As they walk on, rock music blares, incongruously—it is incongruous for Dick Cheney. As is often the case, he looks a little sheepish on the platform, as though embarrassed by the hoopla.

Lynne Cheney assumes her usual role as introducer; she has been doing this since the 2000 campaign. She tells about their growing up in Wyoming, and notes that Casper—their hometown—was "mighty glad when Wal-Mart came." She remembers how hard their families worked, and relates the jobs their parents and grandparents had. Mrs. Cheney's mother was a deputy sheriff—and "that made Dick be really careful." After she's through, the Cheneys engage in a little kiss, nothing like Al & Tipper. And the veep informs the crowd that they'll celebrate 40 years in August. *Ah*s are mixed in with the applause.

Cheney's speech begins with a little paean to Wal-Mart, distinguishing the Republican view from the Democratic: "The story of Wal-Mart exemplifies some of the very best qualities in our country—hard work, the spirit of enterprise, fair dealing, and integrity." Then Cheney launches into a campaign speech, centered on economics. He touts the administration's record, arguing that the economy has made an impressive comeback—thanks to tax cuts and the like—despite what the media may depict. As he talks, he is measured, assured, and modest. He even sounds modest when saying immodest things. He is not known as an orator, but he is a natural speaker—without affectation, which is something of a miracle. There is no (false) theater in him; his charisma is a quiet, true one.

He goes after Kerry quite aggressively, filling the traditional role of veep (lashing the opposition, attending funerals). He cites Kerry's record as a foe of tax cuts, and as a fan of big government generally. At the end of his approximately 15-minute speech, he serves up a boilerplate line: "It's an honor to stand with the workers of this outstanding company." Yet, somehow, when he says it, it doesn't sound stiff or condescending or calculated. It is matter-of-fact and believable.

He and his party exit to some more incongruous rock, and he's back into his limo (with the vice-presidential seal), then to the air field, then on Air Force Two, for the two-hour-plus trip home (Washington, not Casper).

The selection of Dick Cheney by Governor Bush in July 2000 was a surprise. How would he fare as a candidate? How would he fare as a veep? How would he fare as president, if called on? About the second two questions, most people were relatively sure. He was, as he is, one of government's competent men. But he can campaign, too—not flashily, but solidly, and well. Bush could have done worse. Much. **NR**

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■ **ESSAY**

Hearts of Darkness

Torturers among us, and in us

THEODORE DALRYMPLE

We all want to think that our boys are different, that they would never stoop to the vile practices of foreign despots, such as the abuse of captives or the torture of prisoners. But this is to forget the meaning of Original Sin: that there is within each and every one of us a capacity for wrongdoing and evil, awaiting only an opportunity to assert itself. And chief among these opportunities is the possession of unbridled power over others.

So the revelations about the mistreatment of prisoners in Iraq, while shocking and dispiriting, are not in any deeper sense surprising. An insufficiency or breakdown of external discipline often leads to a breakdown of internal discipline. Abuse is the inevitable result.

Winston Churchill once said that a civilization could be judged by the way it treated its prisoners. I don't think this is quite right: One can admire the civilization of Renaissance Florence, for example, without having many illusions as to how it treated its prisoners. Still, Churchill's thought was a generous one, and I have always tried to keep it in mind during my work for the past 15 years in the British prison system.

There is no doubt that the job of guarding prisoners is a congenial one to the small number of constitutionally psychopathic sadists. I have known a few in my prison, who went about their evil with low cunning, one of them repeatedly emptying the oxygen bottles in the hope that there would be no oxygen in an emer-

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gency (he was never caught), so that a prisoner might die for lack of it, and another (a nurse) instilling acid into the eye of a prisoner instead of antibiotics, having first instilled such terror into him that he refused to testify against the nurse.

But these two were clearly abnormal, their malevolence deeply etched into their character, part of its very fiber. Far more alarming, however, is the temptation to sadism in the normal and well-adjusted person. I have felt it myself.

Everyone who works in a prison has at least some arbitrary power over prisoners, for example both to give and to withhold. Now small things are to the incarcerated very big things, because they have endless time to brood upon them and little else to distract them. Everyone who works in a prison understands this, either consciously or instinctively. And few illicit pleasures are greater than that of causing suffering to another human being merely by the exercise of one's whim, by making him wait for what could be granted at once. It shouldn't be so, but for most of humanity it is so.

As I walk through the prison, inmates often importune me with requests, often reasonable and understandable ones in their circumstances. I am usually prepared to exceed my official duties on behalf of prisoners, for example by acting as an intermediary with their lawyers, because it takes little imagination to appreciate the suffering caused to prisoners by delays in communication with their legal representatives. Occasionally, however, I am in a bad mood, and I refuse to grant what is easily in my power to give, on the spurious grounds of lack of time. The pleasure of the exercise of this malice gives me some temporary relief from my bad mood, though remorse soon sets in. I recall a scene from Lawrence Olivier's film of *Richard III*. The newly-crowned, usurping king is on his throne and his confederate in evil, Buckingham, approaches to ask for his promised reward. Richard refuses, Buckingham pleads, Richard leans forward from the throne, pushes Buckingham aside with his scepter, and says, "I am not in the giving vein."

I am not in the giving vein. As usual, Shakespeare captures in a few words an important, though disgraceful, fact of human psychology: the pleasure of causing unhappiness or suffering to others. And this pleasure is all the greater when a person is either frustrated or fearful, or both, as surely many soldiers in Iraq must be.

There is also a constant temptation for the jailer to see the jailed as belonging to a completely different moral universe from his own, and not therefore entitled to the same protections. The jailer, to do his job, must believe himself to belong to the party of the just; he must also believe that those he guards are members of the party of the unjust.

Now while the desire to see oneself as one of the just may inhibit cruel treatment of the person in one's charge—for the moral distinction between the jailer and the jailed must be maintained—it may also lead one to think that one has the right or even the duty to punish. It is all too easy for the jailer to think that the prisoner is getting more, or being accorded more privileges, than he deserves. One officer in my prison lamented to me that the life of prisoners these days was too easy and comfortable, unlike in the old days when, quite rightly, they got "nothing three times a day, and plenty of it."

This is a thought that has often occurred to me, for example, when observing a notorious serial killer contentedly passing his time playing pool. By what right should such a man enjoy three meals a day, a tolerably comfortable cell, and more leisure time in a week than I have in a year, after committing acts of barbarous and sadistic ferocity? Surely he should be made to suffer more, because justice requires it?

Justice does indeed require it, but—how easy it is to forget this—justice is not the only human desideratum ("Use every man after his desert," says Hamlet, "and who should 'scape whipping?"). Prison guards whose lives are not easy may see the good treatment of malefactors as an injustice to be avenged, and go in for a little entrepreneurial punishment of their own.

The greater the perceived moral and cultural difference between the jailer and the jailed, the less the possibility of human contact between them; the more frightened, exposed, and frustrated the jailer feels, the greater the likelihood of abuses being committed. American soldiers in Iraq, unable to speak a word of the language or make out a letter of the alphabet, hated and reviled by an unknown proportion of the population, some of whom are willing to kill themselves if only they can take an American with them, must be living in a state of anxiety that nothing, except an end to their tour of duty, can assuage. In the absence of the firmest control by superiors, this is a recipe for inhumanity.

Moreover, once an ethical line has been breached, there is a tendency to breach it again and again, and worse and worse, as Macbeth discovered to his own cost and that of everyone around him. It is as if further crimes justified the first crime, by implying that crime itself is normal, an inevitable part of the job at hand, and therefore the less reprehensible.

Although I am a secularist, I believe (as a result of my experience) in the doctrine of Original Sin, at least in the sense that evil lurks like a crouching beast in each and every one of us, waiting to pounce if restraints are removed. There is a joy in committing evil, and none of us, whatever fine tradition we pride ourselves in belonging to, is immune to it. **NR**

American soldiers at Abu Ghraib

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Kerry, Kerry, Quite Contrary

The lifelong contortions of the Democratic nominee

RICHARD LOWRY

A Massachusetts state representative named William Reinstein approached John Kerry at a political event in early 1996 and introduced himself with the fictional name "Butchy Cataldo," just to test Kerry. The senator merrily slapped "Butchy" on the back and told him how good it was to see him again. The story was quickly passed around in Massachusetts political circles as a sign of Kerry's embarrassing lack of a common touch.

This incident is recounted in the new *Boston Globe* biography of John Kerry (*John F. Kerry: The Complete Biography by the* Boston Globe *Reporters Who Know Him Best*). Together with Douglas Brinkley's book, *Tour of Duty*, it provides a ready guide to the Democratic nominee, who is the kind of guy who would feign delight in being reunited with his good friend Butchy Cataldo.

Kerry has many virtues. He has physical courage, whether on his swift boat in Vietnam or in one of his outdoor activities. He is prodigiously talented. The excerpts from his Vietnam journals in Douglas Brinkley's book are impressively written. He wanted to write an autobiographical novel about Vietnam—it might not have been a terrible one. He is fiercely competitive and doesn't lose easily. These qualities will be on display during the campaign this year. So will his foibles.

Character tends to be enduring. If you were familiar with Bill Clinton's first two years as Arkansas governor, you had a pretty good idea of how his first couple of years as president would play out. So too with Kerry there are themes that have been apparent right from the beginning: the air of phoniness, and the exaggerations and minutely fine-tuned positions that come with it; the blatant-to-the-point-of-rank ambition; the wealthy wives funding his political career; the exploitation of his Vietnam service and his demagogic indignation at any questioning of his activities during or after the war; his belief that nearly any U.S. intervention is mistaken and driven by "pride."

Kerry has Al Gore's aloofness and his talent. Like Gore, it's possible to imagine Kerry a professor somewhere. Unlike Gore, Kerry has always unabashedly wanted to run for office. Gore had to force himself to be a campaigner. Kerry has been doing it more or less—debating, speechifying, etc.—since prep school. The awkwardness (some might say weirdness) of Gore seemed to come from the tension between what he truly desired, i.e., being off somewhere writing books on global warming, and the political career he foisted on himself. Kerry has no such tension. But there's the same sense of him trying too hard, of compensating for something missing.

A SENSE OF PLACE

That something may be a sense of place, of belonging. John Kerry has always had trouble fitting in. He had no real home as a child, because his diplomat father dragged the family around the globe. He wasn't rich or privileged enough to be one of the gang at the fancy prep schools he attended. Later, he wasn't working-class or locally grounded enough to fit into Massachusetts politics. If you combine Kerry's outsiderness with his naked ambition (and naked is the right word—he has never tried to hide it), you catch the particular scent that has always followed Kerry and offended many noses.

Kerry's anti-Vietnam activism was a picture of not fitting in. Nixon called him "sort of a phony," and Chuck Colson dubbed Kerry "quite a phony." Nixon-haters sensed much the same in Kerry. *Doonesbury* skewered him, once having Kerry think to himself after a speech, "You're really clicking tonight, you gorgeous preppy." There was resentment against Kerry among his fellow war protesters, who were a scruffier lot. One tried to call Kerry at home and was told, probably by a maid, "Master Kerry is not at home." Shortly afterward someone hung a sign on Kerry's chair at a meeting that read, "Free the Kerry Maid."

When Kerry, in his protest days, appeared with the families of some POWs, they were heckled by other women whose husbands were POWs: "You're stupid, Kerry is using you to run for office." They were not far off the mark. Kerry the itinerant political-climber was on stark display in his first run for Congress.

In 1972, he had mailing addresses in three different congressional districts in a two-month period. His first wife, Julia Thorne, bought a house in Worcester, where Kerry considered challenging a Democratic incumbent. His wife had the money he didn't, so she

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propped up his political ambitions. Sound familiar? But the couple never moved into the home. Kerry set his sights on a different district and rented an apartment in Lowell. One local newspaper editorialized, "If [Kerry] doesn't stop house-hunting soon, he'll not only need a campaign manager, but a full-time real-estate agent." Desperate to show he had roots in the district, Kerry would say, "I learned to walk in the Fifth District," referring to a year he had spent there as a toddler.

Kerry had to win a Democratic primary. He had celebrity support, from the likes of George Plimpton and Leonard Bernstein. He spent massively, making it the most expensive congressional primary in the country. He won, doing well in the upscale towns, but lagging in the working-class cities, where Julia cut a conspicuous figure. "Her distinctive, upper-class accent earned her the title 'La Professoressa' among residents," according to the *Globe*. She told Douglas Brinkley, "I was totally fluent in three languages, and considered myself European." Again, sound familiar?

The general-election race featured a dynamic that would often be repeated: Kerry using his Vietnam experience, but crying foul when anyone questioned his service or anti-war advocacy. The editor of the local, powerful Lowell *Sun* hammered Kerry for his high-profile opposition to the war. After he lost, Kerry complained in a letter he sent to contributors, "For two solid weeks, they called me un-American, new-Left anti-war agitator, unpatriotic, and labeled me every other 'un-' and 'anti-' that they could find." This sort of victimized outrage is now a Kerry staple—it is almost impossible to question any aspect of his record, from his Senate votes to his allegations of widespread war crimes in Vietnam, without supposedly questioning his patriotism.

court caseload, including backlog, never exceeded 7,265 during Kerry's tenure."

Kerry won election as lieutenant governor and then ran for Senate in 1984. He had to win a tough primary against Congressman James Shannon. The race featured a vintage Kerry flip-flop, involving a straddle that had to be readjusted to suit more snugly Kerry's political purposes. Anti-nuclear activists were a crucial constituency in the primary. Shannon outscored Kerry by 100-94 on the "Freeze Voter '84" questionnaire. A member of the group's executive committee pointed out to a Kerry staffer why Kerry had gotten one of the answers "wrong." Kerry had hedged in his opposition to funding new submarines.

The Kerry staffer wrote a memo to the candidate: "You should explain how your position was misinterpreted so that he will correct the rating before it is distributed to the Board tomorrow evening . . . [He] is favorably disposed to change the grading because he knows of your strong support for the Freeze and knows this is what you must have meant." Kerry changed his answer, and tied his opponent for a perfect score, thus preventing Shannon from getting the exclusive endorsement of the group. It was in his need to shift left to play to this constituency that Kerry called for many of the weapons-systems cancellations that still haunt him.

When Shannon said that Kerry shouldn't have gone to Vietnam in the first place if he opposed the war, Kerry quickly worked to make it appear that Shannon was insulting veterans. This, too, is now a familiar Kerry tactic—he hides behind the honor of the very veterans he accused of war crimes upon his return home. "You impugn the service of veterans in that war by saying they are somehow dopes or wrong for going," Kerry said. According to the

Kerry hides behind the honor of the very veterans he accused of war crimes upon his return home.

After licking his wounds and going to law school, Kerry got a job in the office of district attorney John Droney. Droney was suffering from Lou Gehrig's Disease, and needed the boost that Kerry's energy and media appeal could give him in his race for reelection. As the *Globe* reports, "The only complication was that Kerry had his eye on his boss's job. Two sources from the period . . . said Kerry approached them sometime in early 1978 and suggested Droney's ailment could cost him the election. Kerry asked them to talk to the D.A. about the possibility of bowing out and letting Kerry run." Later, when it was clear that Droney would win, Kerry let the powers-that-be know that he would be interested in being appointed as his replacement if Droney couldn't serve out his term. This was an instance of Kerry being, as one observer has put it, "a slick operator without the slick." Droney, on to Kerry, quickly forced him out of the office.

His experience there is the basis for his argument that he is tough on crime, and also an example of how Kerry can portray his experiences with groan-inducing exaggeration. The *Globe* writes, "Early in his campaign for the White House, Kerry often said he wiped out an inventory of 12,000 criminal cases. But a 1978 Droney election ad that Kerry helped write put the number at closer to 3,800 cases." According to the *Globe*, "The entire superior

Globe, "A band of Vietnam vets, all Kerry men, then wheeled into action," shadowing and harassing Shannon.

Kerry won the primary and coasted in the general election, but still felt the need to puff his record. He said in a flyer, "Ever since I worked as a young volunteer in John Kennedy's presidential campaign, I have been deeply committed to participation in politics and political issues . . . Back then, I joined the struggle for voting rights in the South." But Kerry participated in one Kennedy literature drop—just a single one—while at prep school, and never traveled to the South as a "Freedom Rider" as his literature implied.

Kerry wouldn't be seriously challenged again until 1996, when the popular Republican governor William Weld took him on in a classic campaign. Kerry clawed his way to victory. He desperately needed legislative accomplishments. So Kerry bragged at one point that he had introduced a bill to provide health care to uninsured children. This was three months before he actually filed the bill, which had to be crafted for him by Ted Kennedy's staff. Thus another Kerry theme: using Ted Kennedy as a crutch at critical moments. For Kerry, the bill was just a prop. Kennedy was the one who shepherded it to passage.

Just as in the presidential primaries, the home bought for Kerry by his multi-millionaire second wife, Teresa Heinz, bailed him out

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against Weld. Before he married her in 1995, he basically didn't have a home, revisiting one of the main storylines of his life. He had six different addresses in three-and-a-half years. Kerry and Weld had agreed to a spending cap in their race. Kerry busted it by mortgaging his Beacon Hill house. According to the *Globe*, he "dumped the first $900,000 of what would be $1.7 million in personal funds into his campaign kitty." The agreement with Weld had been a signed contract. But there's no honor among thieves, or desperate incumbents.

Finally, when a newspaper column questioned whether Kerry had committed a war crime by finishing off a wounded Viet Cong, Kerry surrounded himself with veterans and complained that the column sullied "the honor of those of us who served." In beating Weld, Kerry achieved the trifecta, relying on Kennedy's political pull, Teresa's money, and the Vietnam card.

EVER KERRY

Over the last year, Kerry's position on the Iraq war has featured agonizing indecision, or as his supporters call it, "nuance." This intellectual temper seems woven into Kerry's very being. He may have absorbed it from his father. Richard Kerry once wrote, "Casting issues in the form of polar choices . . . readily leads to the conclusion that if one is wrong, the other must be right. In a more relative view of the issue, both are likely to be wrong." Who does that sound like? As John Kerry put it more colloquially to Douglas Brinkley, "As Yogi Berra said, 'I came to the fork in the road and I took it.' Now that, to me, is real philosophy. That's one of my favorite philosophical statements."

This intellectual tendency is augmented by Kerry's sense of caution. An overweening political ambition is often associated with fear. So Bill Clinton was always scared of the choice that would end his career, or merely depress his poll numbers. Kerry trembles in the same way. According to the *Globe*, "As a student and later as a senator, Kerry often internally debated an issue before making up his mind in a process that could take weeks." It continues, "He often sounded as if he were talking himself out of the decision he had just made."

As Kerry meanders, he is prone to make two criticisms of any U.S. action: that it is alienating the world, and is the product of pride. These were staples of his father's foreign-policy thought, and Kerry can't resist returning to them in almost any circumstance. He made these criticisms, of course, of Vietnam. He also made them of Grenada. "The invasion only served to heighten world tensions and further strain brittle U.S.–Soviet and North–South relations," he said. He made them of the 1991 Gulf War. "There is a rush to war here," said Kerry. "We are willing to act . . . with more bravado than patience." He added, "It sounds like we are risking war for pride, not vital interests!" Kerry even sounded some of these notes during the Afghan war.

In light of all this, we haven't seen much new or surprising from Kerry this campaign season and shouldn't expect it. But the glee with which Republicans have greeted his early stumbles is premature. The cliché about Kerry, that he is a "strong closer," appears to be true. He proved it against Weld in their tough race in 1996 and against Howard Dean just months ago. He is too competitive and too smart to run a campaign as stumbling as he has over the last several weeks. But for Kerry there is no escaping John Kerry, which may well prove the ultimate drag on his campaign. **NR**

■ **COVER STORY III**

Vietnam Veterans Against Kerry

A band of brothers, but not the kind the candidate likes

BYRON YORK

JAMES Zumwalt knows the importance of his name. Son of the late Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, the legendary chief of naval operations during the Vietnam War, and brother of Elmo Zumwalt III, the swift-boat skipper who died in 1988 as a result of cancer related to his exposure to Agent Orange in Vietnam, James Zumwalt knows that when he speaks, many listeners will hear not only his voice but those of his family.

So it was only after much thought that on May 4, Zumwalt, a retired Marine Corps lieutenant colonel, joined a group of former swift-boat officers and crew to sign a letter citing "substantive concerns" about former swiftie John Kerry's fitness to serve as commander-in-chief. The men, who called their group Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, had several concerns. Some questioned parts of Kerry's service record. Others questioned his judgment. But all were united in one thing: their anger at Kerry's claim, dating back to his testimony before Congress in 1971, that Americans had committed atrocities in Vietnam that "were not isolated incidents but crimes committed on a day-to-day basis with the full awareness of officers at all levels of command."

The veterans believed Kerry was lying back then, and their unhappiness with Kerry was rekindled when the charges were repeated in *Tour of Duty*, historian Douglas Brinkley's new book describing Kerry's wartime experiences. "We have concluded that you have deceived the public, and in the process have betrayed honorable men, to further your personal political goals," the veterans wrote in a public letter to the senator.

Before he signed the letter, Zumwalt thought about his brother. "He was not a big fan of Kerry's," Zumwalt recalls. "When they had the dedication of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, my brother refused to go up and shake Kerry's hand. He still had quite a bit of animosity."

Zumwalt also thought about his father, who was angered by Kerry's accusations but who tried, in the final years of his life, to put the past behind him. In 1996, when Kerry was in a tight Senate re-election race and found himself facing allegations of having committed war crimes, he turned to the admiral for help. "Kerry asked my father to come and attend a press conference with him," recalls James Zumwalt. "My father agreed, and he went. I think his viewpoint at the time was that yes,

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Kerry had made outrageous allegations and had hurt a lot of people and hurt their reputations, but those wounds were now healed, and he [Admiral Zumwalt] owed it to one of those men who had served under him to help him out in his time of need."

So the elder Zumwalt defended Kerry, who won re-election. Now Kerry is on the stump again, and *Tour of Duty*, not to mention Kerry's daily recitations of his Vietnam record, have caused the old accusations to resurface. "I just felt Kerry was way out of line to be repeating those things again," Zumwalt says, "not only because they were not true, but because it was opening those old wounds again." And so Zumwalt signed the letter.

So did a lot of other people, who also appeared at a Washington news conference announcing the formation of Swift Boat Veterans for Truth. There was Bob Elder, who skippered alongside Kerry in 1969, and who signed because he felt a "deep sense of betrayal" by Kerry. There was Bill Shumadine, another swift commander who served with Kerry and said, "I was operating in every river, every canal, and I never saw or even heard of all these so-called atrocities." There was David Wallace, who said, "In the whole year that I spent patrolling, I didn't see anything like a war crime, an atrocity, anything like that." There was Richard O'Meara, a former petty officer who said that, "even though I had served at the same time, in the same unit [as Kerry], I had never witnessed or participated in any of the events that the senator had accused us of." There was Robert Brant, a skipper who joined the group "to express the anger I've harbored for over 33 years about being accused with my fellow shipmates of war atrocities." And there were many more.

Nearly 200 men joined in—a number dwarfing Kerry's own 'band of brothers.'

Nearly 200 men joined in—a number dwarfing Kerry's "band of brothers," the former members of Kerry's boat crew who are actively supporting his campaign. Swift Boat Veterans for Truth includes a majority of Kerry's fellow skippers, as well as his superior officers, all the way up to Adm. Roy Hoffmann, who ran the swift-boat program.

DUELING PRESS CONFERENCES

As the veterans spoke at their news conference on the 13th floor of the National Press Building in Washington, the Kerry campaign held a hastily arranged news conference of their own one floor below. Kerry aides handed out a press release with five "key questions" about the swift-boat group. The questions were clearly part of the Kerry counterattack, but they were also legitimate queries that the veterans were eager to answer.

The first question was, Who coordinated and paid for the news conference and the group's expenses? The swift-boat veterans answered: We did. John O'Neill, the former swift commander who debated Kerry on *The Dick Cavett Show* back in 1971, and who was instrumental in forming the new group, says that at the first organizational meeting, eight or nine veterans pledged a total of about $60,000. (O'Neill, now a lawyer in Texas, himself kicked in $25,000.) So far, most of that money has not been spent. O'Neill paid $1,400 to rent the room at the National Press Building where the press conference was held. He also reserved a block of rooms at a Comfort Inn in downtown Washington—hardly deluxe accommodations—where the men stayed. But O'Neill says each man paid for his own expenses, with the exception of a couple who didn't have the money, and whose expenses were picked up by the group.

Second, the Kerry campaign asked whether anyone in the Swift Boat group has "been in contact with any member of the Bush administration or the Bush campaign." The answer is no, according to O'Neill, and there is no evidence to prove otherwise. Indeed, the Bush campaign and the Republican National Committee, according to a statement by campaign chairman Mark Racicot, only "learned of the event yesterday [May 3] through press accounts."

Third, the Kerry campaign asked the veterans, "Isn't it true that some of you have completely reversed your opinion of John Kerry after having nothing but praise for him a few short years ago?" It turns out that, yes, some of the group, led by Admiral Zumwalt, defended Kerry back in 1996 against the atrocity charges. None of them believed then or believes now that Kerry was guilty of something like that. After all, they knew the sting of such accusations themselves—accusations that had come from none other than John Kerry. But now, having once defended Kerry against an unsupported allegation, they are quick to point out that that doesn't mean they believe he should be commander-in-chief.

Fourth, the Kerry campaign asked whether it bothered the veterans that "George W. Bush has yet to produce a list of superior officers or fellow guardsmen that served with him." The answer, says O'Neill, is that the members of this particular group served with Kerry and have deep concerns about him. They know him. If other veterans want to question or complain about President Bush, O'Neill says, they are certainly free to do so.

Finally, the Kerry campaign raised questions about the public-relations company O'Neill asked to organize the news conference. The campaign charged that the firm's president, Merrie Spaeth, was "part of the effort to smear John McCain in the GOP presidential primary in 2000" and has "close ties" to the Bush White House. Kerry supporters also suggested that Spaeth had something to do with the campaign against former Georgia senator Max Cleland in 2002.

Spaeth says the Cleland allegation is "not only false, but wildly false." She also says she has no ties to the Bush campaign or to the Republican National Committee. But there is something to the McCain story, Spaeth says, and she wants people to know what happened.

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In the days before the 2000 GOP primary in New York, two Texas millionaires, Sam and Charles Wyly, formed a front group, "Republicans for Clean Air," to pay for an ad attacking McCain's environmental policies. Spaeth says a friend of hers in public relations called her shortly before the primary, saying he was representing a group that had done some ads and asked her to help field press inquiries about the group. Spaeth says she knew nothing about "Republicans for Clean Air," and says her decision to help, even in a small way, "turned out to be the biggest mistake, at least one of the top five," of her life. "I regret being involved in any way," Spaeth says, "and I am an admirer of Senator McCain." Now she is quick to point out that, unlike Republicans for Clean Air, the swift-boat organization is "a real group, with real members."

For his part, O'Neill says he chose Spaeth because he knew her personally; her late husband, Tex Lezar, had been O'Neill's law partner. In the past, O'Neill has worked with Spaeth's firm on a variety of non-political issues.

VETERANS VS. VETERANS

In all, the Kerry questions were intended to create the impression that the veterans were not credible because they were not independent. But the questions in fact served to highlight other issues about the independence of some of the veterans who support Kerry. For example, at the Kerry-campaign news conference, reporters asked Del Sandusky, one of Kerry's former crew members who has made numerous campaign appearances for Kerry and who appears in Kerry's new biographical campaign ad, how they might get in touch with him for further questions. "Through the campaign," Sandusky replied.

Another member of the "band of brothers" explained that all contacts with the Kerry veterans have to go through the Kerry campaign. And the campaign subsidizes the veterans' testimonials. For example, a quick look at Kerry's voluminous campaign-finance filings shows a number of checks written by the campaign to the veterans. In the early primary season, there is a $210 check from the campaign to Sandusky, then a $100 check, then a $780 check, and so on—all to cover Sandusky's expenses in testifying for Kerry.

In contrast, the swift-boat veterans seem to be going it alone, on their own dime. And no one would call them a slick political operation. They were surprised, for example, when their website was knocked offline the day of the news conference because so many people wanted to visit. Nobody had thought about that ahead of time. "We're pretty amateurish," says O'Neill.

Amateurish, at least politically speaking, but determined. And angry at Kerry. When someone mentioned to O'Neill that Kerry had recently, in an appearance on NBC's *Meet the Press*, described his war-crimes accusations as "honest" but at the same time "a little bit over the top," O'Neill was in no mood for conciliation. "The allegation of war crimes on a systematic basis by Kerry was a total lie," O'Neill told the news conference. "He knew it was a lie when he said it in 1971. It wasn't simply 'over the top' . . . It was done out of gross political calculation. If that was an attempt to apologize, on behalf of my friends, living and dead, I don't accept that apology." **NR**

■ **DEFENSE**

High Time

Anti-missile defenses—"SDI," "Star Wars"—kick into gear

JOHN J. MILLER

Fort Greely, Alaska

WHEN Lt. Col. Gregory Bowen was growing up in North Dakota, he and his buddies would go deer hunting near the town of Nekoma. Occasionally they came across a huge structure that looked like a pyramid. "I thought it was part of an old military base that had been downsized," says Bowen. Later on, he learned of the abandoned site's true purpose: The pyramid had been a radar antenna, and for a short time the facility surrounding it had housed Safeguard, America's first and only missile-defense system. No sooner were Safeguard's interceptors declared operational in 1975 than Democrats in the House of Representatives yanked their funding. A few months later, Ted Kennedy led the Senate in doing the same. Safeguard died in its infancy.

But things are different now. Sometime in the next few months, Bowen will take command of the key element in America's brand-new missile-defense system: six interceptors sitting in silos at Fort Greely. They haven't been loaded into the ground yet, but in the coming weeks they will be. Then they'll network with early-warning satellites in orbit, high-powered radars at the far western end of the Aleutian Islands, and generals bunkered beneath Cheyenne Mountain in Colorado Springs. Another four interceptors will be stationed at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. Ten more will come on line at both Greely and Vandenberg next year, perhaps followed by even more after that. All together, this array of weapons and gadgets will offer what the Pentagon's Missile Defense Agency circumspectly calls "a modest defense against the limited, near-term ballistic missile threat"—which is to say, nuclear blackmail from the likes of North Korea.

REAGAN'S VISION IN TODAY'S ALASKA

Ever since Ronald Reagan called for the Strategic Defense Initiative in 1983, conservatives have searched for ways to realize his vision, and naysayers have sought to trash it as a con job they've labeled "Star Wars." After more than two decades of budget battles, military research, and public debate, a rudimentary form of national missile defense is finally being created. It shouldn't surprise anybody that it took so long. Most people forget that when Reagan first spoke of SDI in a television address, he wasn't talking about short-term goals: "It will take years, probably decades of effort on many fronts."

Indeed it has, though the delays have had more to do with politics than technology. From a diplomatic standpoint, America's

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commitment to the ABM Treaty made it impossible to build a robust missile-defense system or even conduct serious testing in preparation for one. From a funding perspective, missile defense survived on what few crumbs the Clinton administration deigned to throw at it, which it did only because of pressure from congressional Republicans.

The election of George W. Bush changed everything. In 2002, he called defending the United States against ballistic missiles "my highest priority as commander-in-chief and the highest priority of my administration." He quit the ABM Treaty and poured money into missile defense. For 2005, the White House is asking Congress for about $10 billion, which is roughly three times the typical budget request during President Clinton's tenure.

There are, of course, a lot of people in Washington who think missile defense is a very bad idea. Most of them are Democrats, and one of them is the junior senator from Massachusetts, John Kerry. He has voted against funding missile-defense programs no fewer than 50 times since entering the Senate in 1985. "The missile shield that could defend the United States against any incoming missile is a fantasy," he said three years ago.

compacted 29 feet of snow atop the clamshell doors of one silo to see if they could function in a blizzard. The goal was for them to snap open in 1.75 seconds. During the trial, they finished with more than half a second to spare.

The folks who will operate the interceptors at Greely won't be full-time soldiers, but members of the Alaska National Guard. "That's appropriate, because homeland security is one of the Guard's responsibilities," says Bowen, himself an active-duty Guardsman. "Our tradition goes back to the Minutemen, and missile defense is the essence of homeland security." There's a cost-benefit factor as well. Missile defense is what Pentagon bureaucrats call a "low-density system"—basically, it's one of a kind. So rather than build a whole infrastructure to accommodate troops as they rotate in and out of Greely every few years, the military will train a small number of Guardsmen who will stick around for longer stretches. There's also the morale factor: It takes a certain kind of person to live in the hinterlands of Alaska, especially during the dark winter months. The missile defenders of Greely, however, haven't been assigned to hardship tours in the 49th state; they've chosen to make their homes there.

Fantasy is becoming reality at Fort Greely, where a sign by the entrance advertises a familiar battlefield principle: 'Secure the high ground.'

Fantasy is becoming reality at Fort Greely, where a sign by the entrance advertises a familiar battlefield principle: "Secure the high ground." This time, however, the reference isn't to a hill or a ridge, but something astronomically higher. That's because ICBMs charging around the globe operate above the atmosphere, in outer space—and that's where Greely's interceptors are designed to obliterate them.

During World War II, Fort Greely was home to an airfield used for transporting U.S.-built fighter planes to the Soviet Union as part of the lend-lease program. Today, it's an ideal location for basing anti-ballistic missiles because the shortest distance between North Korea—or China or Siberia—and the west coast of the Lower 48 is a route above the north Pacific. Groundbreaking for Greely's missile-defense facilities occurred two years ago, a few months after Bush announced his decision to withdraw from the ABM Treaty. The goal all along has been to deploy a handful of interceptors before the end of 2004, but construction sprinted ahead of schedule during the fairly mild winter of 2002-03. Although many military timetables experience setbacks and postponements, this one was advanced. The system might be turned on as early as July.

The winters aren't always so agreeable in the Alaska interior, of course, which is why Greely's missile silos have undergone all-weather testing. "We want the system to operate under every possible condition," says the man tasked with preparing the site for activation, Army Col. Kevin Norgaard. (If Dickens were creating a character who had anything to do with missile defense in Alaska, he might name him Col. Norgaard.) In February, crews

If they ever need to use the interceptors, they won't have much time to pause and reflect upon the meaning of it all. An ICBM requires no more than half an hour to reach the U.S. from Asia—and a successful counterattack from Greely would have to strike about halfway through this journey, when an ICBM is in its "midcourse" phase of flight (rather than its "boost" or "terminal" phases). After satellites detect a hostile launch and radars begin to plot the trajectory, the ABMs have to shoot out of their silos within minutes, blast into space, and smash into their target at speeds so fast that engineers liken the technical challenge to hitting a bullet with a bullet. The interceptors carry no explosives—they destroy ICBMs with the raw kinetic energy of a supersonic collision.

At a time when the menace of Islamic terrorism appears to eclipse most other dangers, ICBMs seem positively old school—they're so Cold War. Yet they remain a significant threat to national security. In 1998, North Korea lofted a missile called the Taepodong 1 over Japan, demonstrating a prowess in rocket science that few had appreciated. In May, South Korean newspapers reported that Pyongyang was preparing to deploy a new missile that puts Hawaii within range. Seattle and Los Angeles can't be far behind. (Last year, in fact, the director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Vice Admiral Lowell Jacoby, speculated that a three-stage Taepodong 2 missile could go the distance.) With the advent of missile defense, of course, Americans confronted with an incoming warhead courtesy of Kim Jong Il will have an option to do something other than pray it misses.

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THREATS NEW AND OLD

The enemies of missile defense have tried to capitalize on intelligence failures in Iraq to suggest that current threat assessments aren't accurate. Apparently they would prefer to wait for North Korea—or Iran, or some future rogue state—to produce evidence of its advanced ICBMs and then think about addressing them, probably through "engagement" rather than deterrence.

Even so, the current missile-defense system is still too weak to deal with the biggest threats. There won't be enough missiles at Greely and Vandenberg to defend the United States against, for example, a full-blown attack from Russia. China, which is believed to possess a relatively meager arsenal of about two dozen ICBMs, would overwhelm the system as well. So this new batch of interceptors is clearly limited—but it is potent enough to protect the U.S. from one potential foe. "The North Koreans should be very wary of our capability," says Air Force Lt. Gen. Ron Kadish, head of the Pentagon's Missile Defense Agency. "I wouldn't put the new system on alert if I didn't think it could do the job."

Even though Kerry was one of 97 senators who voted for the National Missile Defense Act of 1999, which calls for deploying a missile-defense system as soon as the technology is available, he upholds all the conventional opposition arguments. "It is too expensive," he has said. Yet the Bush administration's latest budget request represents less than 3 percent of all defense spending. This hardly seems exorbitant, especially considering the catastrophic cost of not having missile defenses when they're truly needed. What's more, Kerry has proposed spending more than $1 trillion on a variety of new and expanded government programs. So why is he such a penny-pincher when it comes to missile defense?

Kerry has proposed spending more than $1 trillion on a variety of new and expanded government programs. So why is he such a penny-pincher when it comes to missile defense?

Cost isn't what really bugs him about the program. "It won't work. And [it] will drive an arms race," he has said. Yet this is incoherent. If missile defenses won't work, then why would they drive a new arms race? It would seem that only one of these two possibilities could be true. Or, as recent experience suggests, they might both be false. Missile defense is becoming a proven technology. Five of the last eight test flights have resulted in successful intercepts. There are many more tests to come, including two later this year, and over time they will do nothing but improve the system's capabilities. What's more, Bush's decision to withdraw from the ABM Treaty and deploy interceptors doesn't seem to have panicked the Russians. They've actually agreed to reduce their missile stockpiles. So much for a harrowing new arms race. And rather than serving as a showcase for American unilateralism, missile defense has become an occasion for international cooperation. Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, India, and Japan have indicated their desire to work with the U.S. on the technology. The Chinese may not be happy about any of this, but then the purpose of missile defense isn't to please Peking.

There's one final charge that Kerry's camp makes concerning the upcoming deployment: It's about politics, and the crass desire to score a few points against arms-control liberals just before the election. Yet this is silly, too. It suggests that Bush shouldn't power up a system that's ready to go because most Americans will approve of his decision and perhaps let it influence how they vote. Apparently that's just not fair, because it jeopardizes Kerry's chance to come into the White House and unplug the program before the public even knows it exists.

The outcome of the election may determine the fate of national missile defense: Safeguard or vanguard, i.e., either it goes down the dead-end path of that old relic in North Dakota or it sits in the forefront of a future full of sea-based interceptors, airborne lasers, and, ultimately, space-based defenses. The re-election of Bush would virtually guarantee that the next great debate over missile defense will move beyond the limited deployment of ABMs at Greely and Vandenberg—Democrats may simply concede the matter—and refocus on the so-called weaponization of space.

John Kerry knows this, and he's been preparing. Space-based weapons, he says, are "very disturbing." He has proposed "to offer the world the potential of a treaty that says, 'We will only use space for peaceful purposes.'" Kerry presumably wouldn't decommission the hundred or so military satellites the United States currently has in orbit, even though they really aren't up there for "peaceful purposes." He also probably doesn't intend to ban all weapons from space, because ICBMs that leave the atmosphere are space weapons (as are the ABMs that track them down). What he actually means is that he won't stand for weapons to be based in space, including the defensive ones that just about every missile-defense advocate believes the U.S. ultimately will want to develop. These could include everything from lasers that attack ICBMs moments after they've launched to miniature satellites (sometimes called "Brilliant Pebbles") that slam into enemy missiles during their midcourse flight. No country exploits space for military advantage as effectively as the U.S., and it is decidedly not in our national interest to volunteer concessions in this arena, as Kerry is promising.

At Fort Greely, Lt. Col. Bowen doesn't have much time to contemplate the science-fiction future military strategists are dreaming up. He's got half a dozen interceptors to worry about and wants to make sure his team of National Guardsmen is ready to defend America. When he gets a chance, however, he hopes to do a little hunting in Alaska, perhaps for bear. That's a lot different from stalking deer near his boyhood home in North Dakota. "Up here," he says, "if you don't hit what you aim at, it will eat you." He can say that again. NR

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the long view

ROB LONG

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bill Clinton
FROM: Sonny Mehta
RE: Final Manuscript Draft: "My Life"

First off, let me just say that everyone here at Knopf loves—no, really *loves* the manuscript. The whole thing—from your very first memories of growing up in Arkansas to Oxford and Yale to the White House, it's all there and it's all terrific.

Of course we've got some thoughts about your final pass on the manuscript, and I'd like to take a moment to go through them. As always, these are just suggestions—the book is really about your vision and your voice. Everyone here at Knopf just wants to make sure it's the best it can be.

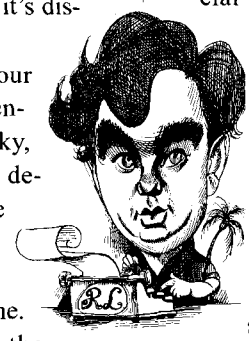
And you've given us so much to work with! We're truly grateful for each one of those 2,643,834 words, but it's clear to us that some of the pages diminish the impact of the other 5,000. And as much as we respect your desire to deliver a "big summer book," it's difficult to imagine people carrying a 22-pound volume to the beach.

Some of this is probably my fault. When we spoke a few months ago, and I expressed concern that the manuscript was still unformed and incomplete, you assured me that rather than push back publication, you'd pull "all-nighter after all-nighter" to get it done. But I'm not sure that was the most effective strategy, as it resulted in a manuscript so long that publishing it would require developing an entirely new printing and binding process, and a kind of glue that, to be perfectly honest, does not exist.

So please take the following thoughts into consideration:

1. We're concerned about the recipes. While we think the very first recipe in the book, your mother's "beaten biscuits," is an excellent one—the biscuits are terrific—we're not sure we "get" the metaphor of the recipes you've sprinkled throughout the narrative. Also: You include the recipe for "Frito Pie" three times, but the third time, during the gripping section on impeachment and the Starr Report, you describe sitting alone in the White House kitchen, splitting the top of a bag of Fritos, pouring hot chili and shredded cheese into the bag, and then eating it all right out of the bag, with a large cooking spoon. And you refer to this later as "Frito Pie," but it doesn't quite match your earlier recipe. So our thought is either address the issue once, and then not at all, or clear up the discrepancy.

2. In the very honest and frank section on Monica Lewinsky, in the narrative description of one of your encounters with her, you refer to "the top of her head, covered with a cascade of blonde hair." Is this a typo? Ms. Lewinsky is, rather notoriously, not a blonde. Or are you perhaps thinking of someone else? In any case, it's distracting to the reader.



3. In another one of your frank descriptions of an encounter with Ms. Lewinsky, some of the dialogue and descriptive detail remind some of the editors here of one of the letters in the June 1992 issue of Penthouse magazine. Perhaps this was due to the rushed nature of the final draft of "My Life"? In any case, we suggest deletion.

4. In still another one of your candid and fully-sketched passages that deals with your relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, during one of the more graphic sections it becomes clear to the reader that in order for the events to have transpired as you describe them, an additional woman would need to have been present and involved. Or are we misreading the passage?

5. We're having trouble with the forgiveness timeline you establish for yourself and Mrs. Clinton. Her book, as you know, is fairly explicit on this matter, and according to your timeline, she would have forgiven you, understood, moved on, and begun the healing process well before she was informed, according to her, of your activities in the first place.

6. Our lawyers insist that you either provide incontrovertible evidence for, or remove entirely, the section in which Sharon Stone makes sexual overtures to you.

7. Our lawyers insist that you either provide incontrovertible evidence for, or remove entirely, the section in which Queen Elizabeth II makes sexual overtures to you.

8. Our lawyers insist that you either provide incontrovertible evidence for, or remove entirely, the section in which Newt Gingrich makes sexual overtures to you.

9. While no one doubts the essential account of your "eight-year battle with international terrorism," the timeline you establish for yourself, and the official White House record, seem to contradict the notion that you were, for at least part of 1998 and most of 1999, collecting HUMINT and running sources in Afghanistan. Your fluency in Arabic is news, of course, but our lawyers are worried that this may lead to more questions than it answers.

10. During your account of the 2000 presidential campaign, you refer to Vice President Gore's "pretty, girlish mouth" and his "lady-ish way of walking," which, our lawyers tell us, is not actionable but may undermine your basic point, that by including you in the campaign and taking your advice, the Vice President

(please turn to page 2)

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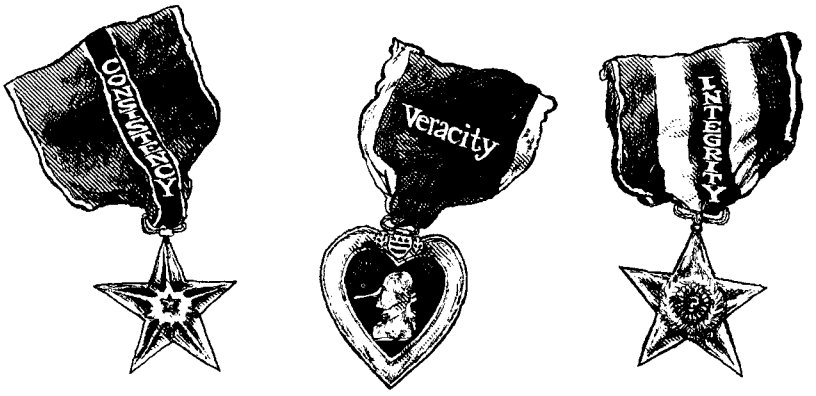

THE MEDALS JOHN KERRY THREW AWAY

I AM FOR A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE...
...BUT I'M OPPOSED TO ABORTION!
I AM FOR CIVIL UNIONS...
...BUT I'M OPPOSED TO GAY MARRIAGE!
I AM FOR DUCK HUNTING...
...BUT...
WHAT IS YOUR POSITION ON SUVs?
TERESA HEINZ KERRY...SUV OWNER!
I AM FOR A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE...
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464
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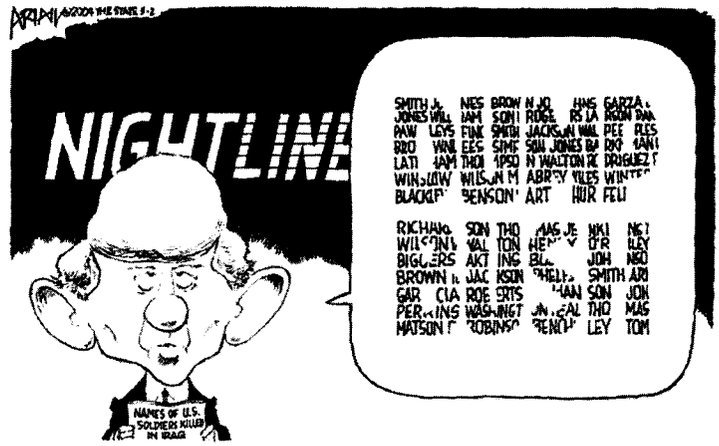
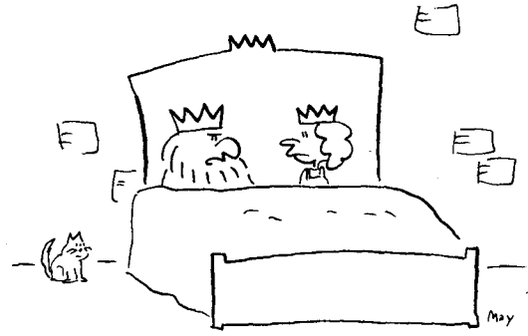
Nader Wants Out

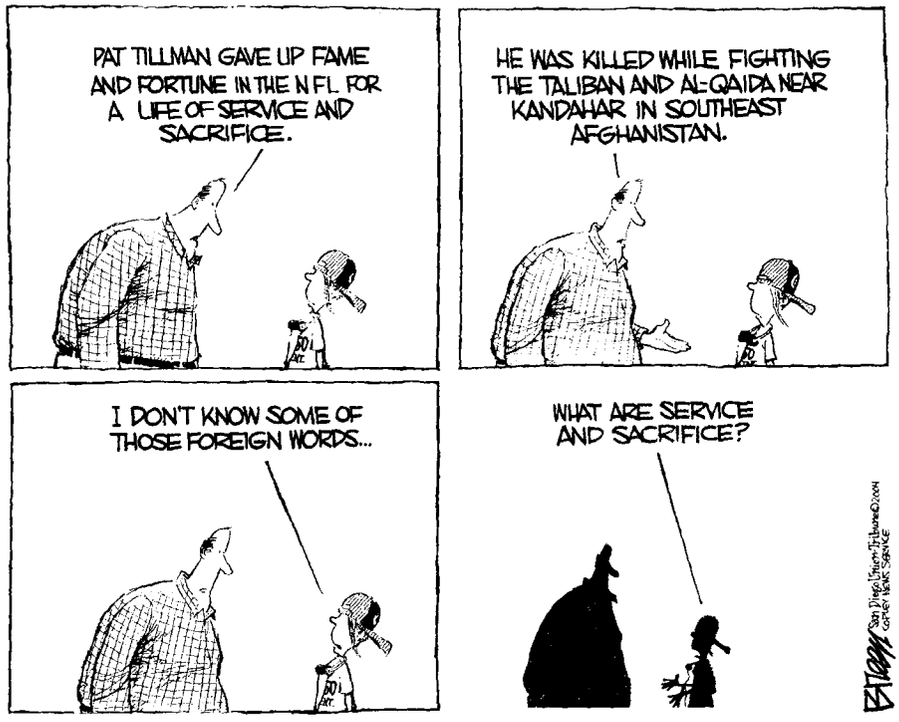
Like the crow's incessant caw
Or a sheep's dumb bleat
(Even collies lose their cool),
Ralph tends to repeat
Calls only birdwatchers chart
With enthusiasm;
Kerry, one eye on his rear,
Has a daily spasm.

—W. H. von Dreele





"Put the cat out? Do you realize how far away that is?"


PAT TILLMAN GAVE UP FAME AND FORTUNE IN THE N.F.L. FOR A LIFE OF SERVICE AND SACRIFICE.
HE WAS KILLED WHILE FIGHTING THE TALIBAN AND AL-QAIDA NEAR KANDAHAR IN SOUTHEAST AFGHANISTAN.
I DON'T KNOW SOME OF THOSE FOREIGN WORDS...
WHAT ARE SERVICE AND SACRIFICE?

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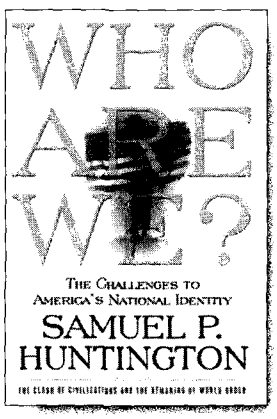
Assimilation Nation



Who Are We?: The Challenges to America's National Identity, by Samuel P. Huntington (Simon & Schuster, 448 pp., $27)

JOHN FONTE

HARVARD's Samuel Huntington is perhaps America's foremost political scientist. His forte is comprehensive intellectual analysis of the deepest issues we face. In the 1970s, on President Carter's National Security Council staff, Huntington organized the most thorough strategic review of the Cold War ever undertaken, influencing the Brzezinski and, later, Reagan counteroffensives against world Communism. In the 1990s, his detailed analysis of the new global fault lines in *The Clash of Civilizations* alerted a complaisant pre-9/11 world to the dangers ahead. *Who Are We?: The Challenges to America's National Identity* is Huntington doing what he does best: It is a classic—perhaps the definitive—overview of the future of the American nation-state.

Huntington argues that American identity today is based on both ideology and a common culture. The ideology—the "American Creed," a belief in liberty, democracy, individual rights, and the like—is a "product of the distinct Anglo-Protestant culture" brought to North America by the mostly British settlers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Universalist Enlightenment concepts also played a part. These ideas proved especially fruitful because they found "receptive ground in the Anglo-Protestant culture that had already existed in America for over a century." This culture includes the English language; British traditions of law, rights, and limited government; the values of dissenting Protestantism (especially its moralism and anti-hierarchical spirit, which made it different from European Protestantism); the work ethic, economic opportunity, individualism, and Christianity.

Huntington contends that two widely accepted propositions about American identity—that we are a "nation of immigrants" and that our identity is defined solely by the values of the American Creed—are half-truths that are ultimately misleading. First, he says, we are a classic "settler" nation, in which the ideas and institutions of the original settlers established the core culture that (with modifications) "still primarily" endures. It is this "Anglo" culture in the first place that attracted immigrants, who then, in large measure, did not simply replicate the old country but assimilated into the new—into the American mainstream. Thus, as a people, we are descendants of settlers and assimilated immigrants, not simply a "nation of immigrants."

Second, although the Creed is a crucial element of American identity, our nation is not solely based on ideas. Huntington notes that a strong believer in the American Creed of liberty, democracy, and individual rights, who lives in Russia or India, is not an American, but a Russian or Indian. That person would be an American only if he immigrated, learned America's language and customs, took the oath of allegiance, and became a loyal citizen of the United States. Moreover, a truly multicultural America (not what exists today, a country with many subcultures within a common civic core) would ultimately become multi-creedal. If ethnic and religious groups had distinct cultures in *opposition* to the mainstream culture, they would eventually advocate different political creeds and ideologies.

Huntington makes it very clear that America's Anglo-Protestant culture is not dependent upon British ethnicity or Protestantism. He heralds our "multiethnic, multiracial society in which individuals are judged on their merits" as "the America I know and love." He declares that "America will still be America long after the WASPish descendants of its founders have become a small and uninfluential minority." The chief weakness of the book, however, is Huntington's failure to articulate the extent to which the principles and politics of America's 18th-century Founders both influenced the pre-existing settler culture and established the moral and intellectual foundation for repudiating all racial and ethnic hierarchies. Some attention to the work of scholars like Thomas West and Charles Kesler could have strengthened the section on the Founders.

That flaw, it must be admitted, is a minor one; Huntington's account is otherwise irreproachable. He describes how, since the 1960s, powerful forces among American elites have launched a sustained effort—one that is, "quite possibly, without precedent in human history"—to "deconstruct" American national identity. This "deconstruction coalition" operates like the "imperial and colonial" regimes of old, which promoted subnational identities in order to "enhance the government's ability to divide and conquer." Besides support for the subnational, the "denationalized elites" embrace the transnational—and denigrate affection for and loyalty to the American nation. He quotes the declaration of Amy Gutmann, the new president of the University of Pennsylvania, that it is "repugnant" for American students to learn that they are "above all citizens of the United States" (as opposed to having "primary allegiance" to "democratic humanism").

Mr. Fonte is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.

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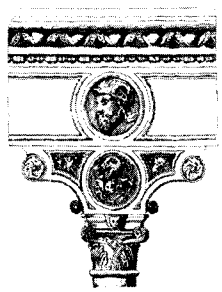
Huntington, the grand strategist *par excellence*, explains that the issues of transnationalism, "racial preferences, bilingualism, multiculturalism, immigration, assimilation, national history standards, English as the official language, Eurocentrism," and so on are "all battles in a single war over the nature of American national identity": the attempt by elites to dismantle America's Creed and common culture. For example, Huntington argues that "it would be hard to overestimate the importance" of the effort by elites to promote racial and ethnic group preferences. This is a major assault on a core principle of the American Creed: the concept of equal rights for individuals regardless of race. Significantly, almost all of the deconstructionist measures are strongly opposed by substantial majorities of the American people, leading Huntington to ponder the emergence of "unrepresentative democracy."

Huntington declares that the "central issue" concerning immigration after 1965 is not whether it should happen, but whether the new immigrants should be assimilated. Historically, that's what immigration has meant: Americanization. Immigration with assimilation, Huntington states, has been a "great success story" that has brought to America "millions of dedicated, energetic, ambitious, and talented people who became overwhelmingly committed to America's Anglo-Protestant culture and the values of the American Creed."



One chapter of this book recently appeared as an article in *Foreign Policy*, and touched off some controversy. Huntington argues that Mexican immigration today differs from that of the past (and from today's Asian immigration) in a number of important ways, all of which impede assimilation. Mexico shares a 2,000-mile border with the U.S., which makes it easier for immigrants to retain and reinforce old loyalties. Mexican immigrants are highly concentrated in regions that were once part of Mexico, which fosters resentment. And Mexicans are the single largest group of immigrants (and overwhelmingly the largest percentage of illegal immigrants), as a result of which a large number of today's newcomers speak one language, Spanish—which, in turn, makes English acquisition less important than it was when immigrants spoke a greater variety of languages.

Moreover, Huntington tells us, the U.S. "appears to face something new in its history: persistent high levels of immigration." Previously, he notes, immigration reductions greatly facilitated the Americanization of immigrants. Still other cultural factors militate against the assimilation of the Latino immigrants: the emergence of denationalized elites (often corporate leaders); the availability of inexpensive travel and communications; the expansion of dual citizenship; the promotion of multicultural ideology and ethnic identity in schools; and continuing government policies fostering group preferences and bilingualism. We are simply no longer living in the world represented by Ellis Island. It is possible, Huntington surmises, that over the course of the century the U.S. will develop into a bicultural, bilingual nation with two very different peoples—similar to Canada's bifurcated English and French populations, speaking two different languages and adhering to two different cultures.

A preemptive strike against Huntington's thesis has already been launched. Some have made hysterical accusations of "xenophobia" and "racism"; others contend that his evidence does not hold up. The crucial issue is this: To what extent is "patriotic assimilation"—primary attachment to American identity and sole loyalty to the American nation—occurring? Huntington points to studies citing loyalty problems among Muslim immigrants. An empirical study of Los Angeles Muslims found that only 10 percent of the immigrants surveyed felt more allegiance to America than to a Muslim country. He also argues that the available evidence suggests that Mexican immigrants' identification with America is "weak." The most comprehensive longitudinal study of the children of immigrants found that Mexican-American students (ages 13 and 14), whether born in Mexico or in the U.S., "overwhelmingly did not choose 'American' as their primary identification." Among the American-born students in the study only 3.9 percent considered themselves primarily American.

Huntington did not cite a Pew Hispanic Center study published in December 2002 that strengthens his case. Taken eight to ten months after the patriotic high point of 9/11, the study revealed that among American citizens of Mexican descent, 55 percent considered themselves Mexican "first," 25 percent considered themselves primarily Latinos or Hispanics, and only 18 percent considered themselves Americans "first." So far, Huntington's critics (such as Michael Elliott in *Time* magazine) have pointed only to studies that ask soft, generalized questions (do you feel pride in America?) but not questions that ask for choices between the U.S. and immigrants' birth nations—which is, after all, what the oath of citizenship is all about. To date, Huntington has presented stronger evidence than his critics and it is clear that elites are nervous.

Thus Alan Wolfe, writing in *Foreign Affairs*, finds Huntington "incendiary," "nativist," and "exaggerated," while ignoring the empirical evidence that Huntington presents on, for example, the attitudes of immigrant children concerning American identity. Wolfe charges Huntington with "fatalism," and then paradoxically implies that there is little that America can do about immigration. According to Wolfe, the trouble with Huntington is that instead of providing "leadership," i.e., supporting elite opinion, the professor "turns himself into a populist" (in other words, stands with the American people).

Academics who have been loudly proclaiming—almost gloating—that Latino (and Muslim) immigrants are resisting Americanization and choosing instead "selective" or "segmented acculturation" (economic, but not patriotic, assimilation) are now dishonestly attacking Huntington for quoting them accurately. For years, elites on the left and the right have suppressed any serious debate over the interplay of immigration, assimilation, and loyalty. Thanks to the strong and courageous voice of Samuel Huntington—Harvard scholar and American patriot—they just might not be able to get away with it any longer. **NR**

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2004 Caribbean Post-Election Cruise

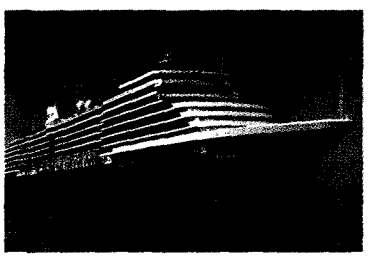
Sailing November 13–20 on

A LUXURY VOYAGE FEATURING ALL-STAR SPEAKERS INCLUDING
Renowned author VICTOR DAVIS HANSON, Islam expert BERNARD LEWIS,
Republican party chairman ED GILLESPIE, acclaimed author DINESH D'SOUZA,
Club for Growth boss STEPHEN MOORE, columnist MICHELLE MALKIN, and *NR* Editors
RICH LOWRY, JAY NORDLINGER, RAMESH PONNURU, JOHN O'SULLIVAN, and JOHN DERBYSHIRE

I am pleased to announce our next exciting seafaring adventure: the *National Review* 2004 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise.

Featuring an incredible cast of conservative celebrity speakers—and remarkably affordable accommodations (prices start at just $1,549 per person, and "singles" can get a luxurious room for only $1,899!)—this special trip will take place November 13-20, 2004, aboard Holland America Line's new MS *Zuiderdam*.

This wonderful journey will afford you the unique opportunity to meet some of America's most preeminent conservative celebrities: "definites" for this special voyage are the esteemed author **Victor Davis Hanson** (the renowned academic has become one of the most influential writers on America and terrorism—and with his new book, *Mexifornia*, also on immigration—since September 11), **Bernard Lewis** (the eminent Princeton professor is the world expert on Islam's bloody history with the West—his *What Went Wrong?* and *The Crisis of Islam* are must-reads), Republican National Committee chairman **Ed Gillespie**, economist and Club for Growth president **Stephen Moore**, acclaimed author **Dinesh D'Souza**, syndicated columnist **Michelle Malkin** (her 2003 immigration book, *Invasion*, caused a sensation!), National Review Online favorite **John Derbyshire**, *NR* Editor **Rich Lowry**, Senior Editor **Ramesh Ponnuru**, Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger**, and Editor-at-Large (*and* editor of *The National Interest*) **John O'Sullivan** (we're awaiting RSVPs from other conservatives we've invited to participate in this special week of "topics and tropics").



Join them for seven relaxing days and nights of politics and policy, conservative revelry, and world-class luxury cruising.

As *NR* cruise alumni (there are thousands, the "typical" one has gone on three or four of our very *bon* voyages!) know, our trips are remarkable events, marked by scintillating political shoptalk, wonderful socializing, intimate dining with our editors and speakers, making new friends, the rekindling of old friendships—and, of course, grand cruising. That's what's in store for you on the ***National Review* 2004 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise.**

There are countless reasons for you to come, but none bigger than the luminaries who will be joining us for this luxury trip—what a truly extraordinary gathering! It's one of the best ensembles we've ever had on an *NR* cruise, which guarantees that our seminar sessions—featuring ample audience "Q & A"—will be fascinating.

✔ Where does one *begin* to question **Bernard Lewis** about the brutal revival of the millenium-old struggle between Islam and the West?!

✔ Ditto for **Victor David Hanson**, who will share his expertise on the moral struggle required for America and democratic nations to battle terrorism and defend freedom.

✔ Who *is better* positioned to discuss the state and fate of the Republican Party than chairman **Ed Gillespie** (who wrote great pieces for *NR* once upon a time before he took over the GOP)?!

✔ Who can give keener insight on the war between conservatives and RINOs (Republicans In Name Only) than Club for Growth boss **Stephen Moore**? Or a sounder assessment of red-hot cultural issues (like campus "diversity" and immigration) than the brilliant **Michelle Malkin** and **Dinesh D'Souza**?!

✔ And they'll be joined in all the ruminating, elucidating, and analyzing of the 2004 elections and their aftermath (President Kerry?!) by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights, led by **Rich Lowry**, who will be ably assisted by **John O'Sullivan, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jay Nordlinger**, and NRO headliner **John Derbyshire.**

We so want you to "experience" these conservative luminaries that we've engineered remarkably affordable prices, starting as low (indeed, our *lowest* prices *ever!*) as $1,549 (p/p). And singles can get their own cabin for just $1,899! That *includes* all

ENJOY SEVEN BALMY DAYS AND COOL CONSERVATIVE NIGHTS!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
SAT/Nov. 13	Ft. Lauderdale		5:00 PM	
SUN/Nov. 14	Half Moon Cay	8:00 AM	4:00 PM	morning Catholic Mass evening cocktail reception
MON/Nov. 15	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
TUES/Nov. 16	St. Thomas, USVI	8:00 AM	12 Midnight	
WED/Nov. 17	Tortola, BVI	7:00 AM	6:00 PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
FRI/Nov. 19	Nassau, Bahamas	12 Noon	7:00PM	morning seminar evening cocktail reception
SAT/Nov. 20	Ft. Lauderdale	8:00AM		

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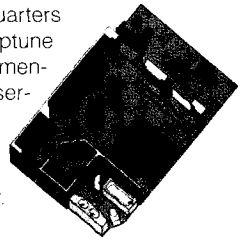
Holland America Line's MS *Zuiderdam*

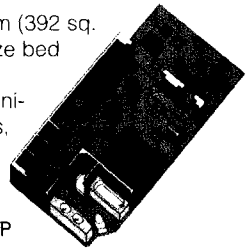
Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Zuiderdam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through Holland America), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin:

Age	Categories S, SS & A	Category D	Category K
19+	$1092	$991	$889
2-18	$842	$741	$639



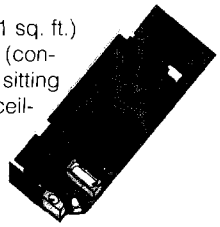
DELUXE SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features use of exclusive Neptune Lounge and Personal Concierge, complimentary laundry, pressing and dry cleaning service. Large private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, and refrigerator.

Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,999



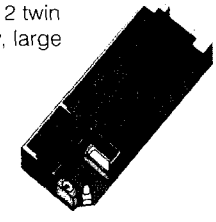
SUPERIOR SUITES Grand stateroom (392 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.

Category SS
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599



DELUXE OUTSIDE Spacious cabin (241 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, tv, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.

Category A
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,399 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,199



LARGE OCEAN VIEW Comfortable quarters (190 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv, large ocean-view windows.

Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,899 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,399

LARGE INSIDE Cozy but ample cabin quarters (185 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv, large ocean-view windows.

Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,549 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,899

those "extras" like port fees, taxes, and gratuities! Just look at the chart on the left and check out our phenomenal rates.

We've made it so affordable that you simply *can't* miss this trip.

Of course, the special "extras" that *NR* brings—the seminars, receptions, and intimate dining with speakers—come on top of the great cruise, which takes place on the beautiful MS *Zuiderdam*. Still gleaming from her recent inaugural, she's Holland America's classiest vessel. You'll find the accommodations to be truly luxurious, matched only by the indulgent, courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions.

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Of course, you can experience that on many a cruise. But what you can experience *only* on an *NR* cruise are those exclusive extras that make up our extensive program. Over the course of the week we will be holding (and we hope *you* will be enjoying!)at least five seminars (each brimming with two-plus hours of bite and wit as our panels of experts make sense out of current events and the recent elections, and divine what's ahead in Washington and elsewhere for 2005 and beyond), three cocktail parties (hot hors d'ouevres, cool drinks, and warm friendships), and two late-night poolside smokers—featuring **H. Upmann**'s wonderful cigars and complimentary cognac. And on top of all that comes dining with our guests: On at least two nights you'll enjoy intimate dinners with of our speakers and *NR* editors.

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BOOK YOUR LUXURY CABIN NOW—CALL THE CRUISE AUTHORITY AT 1-800-707-1634 OR VISIT US AT WWW.NATIONALREVIEWCRUISE.COM

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The National Review 2004 Post-Election Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin)

Street Mailing Address

( )

City State ZIP

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

Payment

A deposit of $350 **per person** is due with this application. If paid by credit card, balance will be charged to *same* card on 8/13/04 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 8/14/04, the full amount of cruise will be charged. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $350 **per person** is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to June 14, 2004*	*$75 per person*	
June 14, 2004 to Augus 13, 2004	*$350 per person*	
AFTER *August 13, 2004*	*100% of cruise/package*	05/31/NR

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ___)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from Ft. Lauderdale.

☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).

☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $24 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If No, indicate citizenship: _____

DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in South Florida.

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the Zuiderdam. Children do not require photo ID.

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AIR TRAVEL: Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program, which offers convenient round-trip, economy-class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you cannot use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class)—and all baggage and transfers—from the following cities:

Akron/Canton, OH	379	Burlington, VT	409	Elmira, NY	396	Indianapolis, IN	420	Milwaukee, WI	389	Philadelphia, PA	390	Shreveport, LA	439
Albany, NY	409	Cedar Rapids, IA	470	Erie, PA	393	Islip/Long Island, NY	509	Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN	470	Phoenix, AZ	539	Sioux Falls, SD	376
Albuquerque, NM	519	Champaign, IL	459	Evansville, IN	456	Jackson, MS	489	Minot, ND	647	Pittsburgh, PA	389	South Bend, IN	499
Allentown, PA	410	Charleston, SC	366	Fargo, ND	590	Jacksonville, FL	359	Missoula, MT	697	Portland, ME	429	Spokane, WA	695
Amarillo,TX	473	Charleston, WV	410	Flint, MI	480	Joplin, MO	436	Mobile, AL	439	Portland, OR	540	Springfield, IL	480
Anchorage, AK	569	Charlotte, NC	385	Fresno, CA	596	Kansas City, MO	439	Moline, IL	460	Providence, RI	439	Springfield, MO	480
Asheville, NC	379	Chattanooga, TN	490	Ft. Wayne, IN	489	Knoxville, TN	429	Monroe, LA	366	Raleigh, NC	447	St. Louis, MO	440
Atlanta, GA	350	Chicago, IL	440	Grand Forks, ND	587	Lacrosse, WI	500	Montgomery, AL	406	Rapid City, SD	585	Syracuse, NY	406
Augusta, GA	420	Cincinnati, OH	429	Grand Junction, CO	685	Lansing, MI	529	Myrtle Beach, SC	370	Reno, NV	577	Tallahassee, FL	279
Austin, TX	466	Cleveland, OH	370	Grand Rapids, MI	429	Las Vegas, NV	569	Nashville, TN	419	Richmond, VA	409	Tampa, FL	218
Baltimore, MD	389	Colorado Springs, CO	586	Great Fall, MT	697	Lexington, KY	500	New Orleans, LA	370	Roanoke, VA	410	Toledo, OH	430
Bangor, ME	439	Columbia, SC	370	Green Bay, WI	530	Lincoln, NE	486	New York, NY (JFK)	397	Rochester, MN	490	Tri Cities, TN	439
Baton Rouge, LA	389	Columbus, OH	380	Greensboro, NC	396	Little Rock, AR	420	New York, NY(LGA)	388	Rochester, NY	409	Tucson, AZ	536
Billings, MT	695	Corpus Christi, TX	469	Greenville-Spar., SC	366	Los Angeles, CA	539	Newark, NJ	368	Sacramento, CA	590	Tulsa, OK	469
Binghamton, NY	639	Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	448	Harlingen, TX	450	Louisville, KY	419	Norfolk, VA	389	Saginaw, MI	479	Wash. DC (Dulles)	389
Birmingham, AL	429	Davenport/Moline, IA	460	Harrisburg, PA	409	Lubbock, TX	466	Oakland, CA	636	Salt Lake City, UT	590	Wash. DC (Reagan)	400
Bismarck, ND	597	Dayton, OH	410	Hartford, CT	416	Lynchburg, VA	410	Oklahoma City, OK	469	San Antonio, TX	459	Waterloo, IA	550
Boise, ID	767	Denver, CO	540	Helena, MT	695	Madison, WI	530	Omaha, NE	436	San Diego, CA	539	Wichita, KS	469
Boston, MA	424	Des Moines, IA	490	Honolulu, HI	866	Manchester, NH	439	Ontario, CA	586	San Francisco, CA	540	Wilkes/Scranton, PA	410
Bozeman, MT	595	Detroit, MI	469	Houston, TX	377	McAllen, TX	386	Orange County, CA	586	San Jose, CA	590	Wilmington, NC	409
Bristol/Tri Cities, TN	439	Dulles (Wash. DC)	389	Huntington, WV	399	Medford, OR	747	Orlando, FL	198	Santa Barbara, CA	636		
Buffalo, NY	399	Duluth, MN	670	Huntsville, AL	339	Memphis, TN	436	Pensacola, FL	339	Savannah, GA	410		
Burbank, CA	666	El Paso, TX	466	Idaho Falls, ID	747	Midland/Odessa, TX	436	Peoria, IL	460	Seattle/Tacoma, WA	540		

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. **2.** For some West Coast cities the cruise line cannot provide air service to Ft. Lauderdale in time to connect with the transfer to the *Zuiderdam* on Nov. 13. In this instance, you must fly to Ft. Lauderdale the night prior to the cruise. The cost for the overnight and transfers is $80 per person double occupancy and $130 per person single occupancy. **3.** Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the *Zuiderdam* (Port Everglades) are not included, but are available for purchase $24pp roundtrip. Schedule your arrival in Ft. Lauderdale (FLL) leaving plenty of time for flight delays! Arrive no later than 1:00pm on Nov. 13th. Return flights from Ft. Lauderdale should not be arranged before 12:00 noon on Nov. 20th. **4.** Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line" charges $50pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. **5.** Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure. **6.** Fees will apply to any changes to existing air reservations made within 65 days of travel or deletion/ cancellation of the Fly-Cruise Plan from your booking within this same time period.

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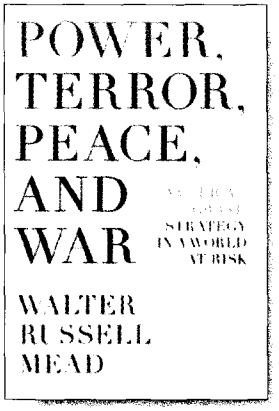
The World, Ordered



Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk, by Walter Russell Mead (Knopf, 240 pp., $19.95)

RICHARD LOWRY

Walter Russell Mead is one of the most original and bracing foreign-policy minds in America. His latest work is typically deep and provocative. Some of its material will be familiar to the readers of Mead's previous book, *Special Providence*, a brilliant account of the history of American foreign policy. But that in no way detracts from the new book's worth. Mead analyzes the current state of American policy—delving beyond the facile arguments of both pro- and anti-Bush partisans—and tries to point the way ahead.

He constantly slashes away at the inanities of all sides of America's foreign-policy argument. Isolationists on the right and the left like to forget, as Mead reminds us, that the United States "is a global power, and has been one from earliest times." There will be no return to the period of paradisiacal isolation—because it never existed. On the other hand, Mead is wary of those advocates who get giddy when they consider America's preeminent position in the world today, forgetting that it doesn't mean every international actor is going to salute smartly and follow our lead.

Mead advocates a balance in American foreign policy. Indeed, the theme of *Special Providence* was that our policy has historically been remarkably successful because it has been the product of the interplay of several contrasting schools of thought. Now, Mead writes that the challenge for the U.S. is "to exercise its power as a liberal hegemon, maximizing the degree of consent and consultation with others without neglecting the need for strong American power underwriting the world system." In other words, work multilaterally, but carry a big stick.

Mead doesn't "do" only foreign policy, but also sociology, economics, and much else. A big part of his argument in this book is that the nature of capitalism has shifted over the last decade or so. The "Fordist" era (named after Henry Ford) was defined by "regulation, income equality, state planning, and stability." Mead dubs the new model "millennial capitalism." It is a new, more vigorous, free-wheeling form of capitalism spawned by computer technology and the growth of international trade. It is hostile to "labor unions, state ownership of key companies, and state-guided investment strategies—building blocks of Fordism."

We congratulate ourselves on this new, more productive form of capitalism and consider its spread all but inevitable. But governments and established classes in many foreign nations hate it because it threatens the foundations of their power. It is no accident that the Arab world especially is a bastion of failed Fordism, where the elite is attached to a "network of protected industries, civil service positions, and subsidies." Mead warns that "triumphalist self-congratulation on the victory of free market capitalism should never blind us to the revolutionary nature of the American project and the appalling nature of the threats (balanced, one hopes, by the blessings) that accelerating technological progress unleashes on the world."

But there's no escaping the changes wrought in America, and therefore its foreign policy, by the collapse of Fordism. It has helped spark what Mead calls an "American Revival," putting a few of the country's traditional foreign-policy schools on steroids. The Hamiltonians—the school of American foreign policy associated with business—have become less cautious and more self-confident, convinced the American economic model is superior to all others. The Wilsonians—the idealistic school that includes many neo-conservatives—have souped up their traditional argument that there is a link between idealism and security, while de-emphasizing the traditional Wilsonian belief in international institutions. Also, Wilsonianism has become associated with evangelicals, who "view America's world role in a different way than the waning and dying mainstream Protestant establishment that once set the Wilsonian agenda."

Joining in the anti-Fordist coalition are the Jacksonians. This is an underappreciated tradition to which Mead has brought new attention in his work. It is Jacksonian as in Andrew Jackson—fiercely patriotic, anti-elitist, and a little bloody-minded. This is the American tradition that insists on victory at all costs, and cares less about reforming our enemies than about destroying them. Jacksonians tend to distrust the administrators, bureaucrats, and experts who were empowered by the Fordist model and they have mounted a populist revolt against these elites.

Put together self-confident Hamiltonians, muscular Wilsonians, and bristling Jacksonians and you get an idea of the forces shaping George W. Bush's foreign policy and the War on Terror. Mead finds much of it firmly within the American tradition, which has always emphasized "preventing hostile hegemonic powers from establishing themselves in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East; protecting the freedom of the seas and airs; and especially securing the safe and free passage of oil to the world's markets."

What is new is that the Bush administration has pursued a determinedly non-Eurocentric policy. As Mead writes, "Kurdistan matters more to the United States than Kosovo, and Mesopotamia means more to us than Macedonia." In moving beyond Eurocentrism, Bush has only acknowledged global realities. In rejecting the Kyoto Protocol and the International Criminal Court, for instance, he merely dispelled the illusion that the U.S. would constrain its "freedom of action through institutions in which European states possessed one or more vetoes."

But Mead is by no means a Bush partisan. He points out that the administration has no effective voice overseas. According to Mead, "It was in its public

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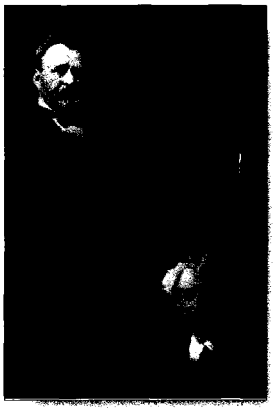
diplomacy that the Bush administration suffered the most consistent record of setbacks and defeats," plumbing depths of unpopularity around the world that the nation had not sunk to since the Vietnam War. At home, Mead calls it a disaster that Bush didn't adequately prepare the public for the post-war difficulties in Iraq and says it "will likely be studied long into the future as a classic example of how not to manage war policy."

A deep and growing problem in Iraq for Bush is the tension between his Wilsonianism and his Jacksonianism: They have different constituencies and different goals. Jacksonians want to kill the enemy and send the message that America is not to be trifled with, but have little appetite for the more grandiose visions of democracy-building that animate Wilsonians. Mead writes, "It is a perennial problem in American foreign policy that Wilsonians often write checks that Jacksonians do not want to cash." That dynamic may yet sink our project in Iraq.

Mead wants to take what's good in Bush's foreign policy and temper it, to make it more effective. "We need more realistic American Revival thinking," Mead writes, "that does not assume that all our problems will melt into air if we just assert ourselves forcefully enough." In the War on Terror, he advocates a strategy of "forward containment," containing and shrinking the power of "Arabian fascism." The U.S. should not just show contempt for the old instruments of global governance, but develop new ones, reforming and restructuring the United Nations and supplementing it with regional alliances. And it is important to make the new hyper-charged U.S. model of capitalism appealing to the world by making access to capital available to the world's poor, in a kind of global "ownership society."

Those are just a few of the ideas Mead throws off. This work may get lost in the shelf of terrorism and foreign-policy books that have come out recently. It shouldn't. *Power, Terror, Peace, and War* is indispensable to anyone trying to formulate a sensible foreign policy in light of the new threats facing America, and the new power it finds in its hands. **NR**

Two Titans



Grant and Twain: The Story of a Friendship That Changed America, by Mark Perry (Random House, 294 pp., $24.95)

RICHARD BROOKHISER

EIGHTEEN EIGHTY-FIVE was a good year for American publishing. The *Century* magazine printed an article on grizzly-bear hunting by Theodore Roosevelt, excerpts from three new novels (William Dean Howells's *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, Henry James's *The Bostonians*, and Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*), and a portion of a work of non-fiction (Ulysses Grant's *Personal Memoirs*). Twain's and Grant's works are acknowledged masterpieces, and the stories behind their creation are famous in literary history; the writing of Grant's *Personal Memoirs* belongs to the annals of heroism as well. Mark Perry's *Grant and Twain* recounts the twists and turns, and conveys much of the pathos, despite serious limitations.

Mark Twain began *Huckleberry Finn* in the summer of 1876. The Missouri-born riverboat pilot and journalist had been translated by success as a writer and lecturer into the New England upper class. He called his new project "another boy's book"—its major characters having first appeared in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*—wrote 16 chapters, then stopped. Huck and his companion Jim, a runaway slave, had sailed down the Mississippi to Cairo, Illinois, where the Ohio joins it. Should they turn northeast, to freedom, Jim's goal? Twain couldn't decide, and Perry accepts the traditional view that he let the book languish. In 1882 Twain took a trip of his own down the Mississippi, his first in years, sometimes taking the helm himself. "I had her most of the time on [the pilot's] watch. He would be down and sleep, and leave me there to dream that the years had not slipped away." Reinspired, Twain took up *Huckleberry Finn* in 1883, sending his characters south. "I haven't piled up MS so in years," he wrote excitedly. "I wrote 4000 words today & I touch 3000 & upwards pretty often."

But he was not simply regurgitating happy memories. The people Huck and Jim encounter as they move downstream are scoundrels or pillars of a dysfunctional society. *Huckleberry Finn* indicts a culture, while hymning the river and limning a surprising friendship. When the book went on sale in 1884, its rough edges shocked some readers: The Public Library of Concord, Mass., refused to buy it, on the grounds that it was "suitable only for the slums." Twain knew the controversy would sell 25,000 extra copies.

Ulysses Grant took up the pen in 1884. He had fought in the Mexican War, failed in business, won the Civil War, won two presidential elections, and failed in business yet again—this time, bankrupted by a crooked partner. He had also felt the first torments of a fatal throat cancer. Richard Gilder and Robert Johnson, editors of the *Century* magazine, asked Grant to write accounts of some of his battles. He produced a flat article on Shiloh; they coaxed him to add detail and point of view; Grant found his voice. "Suddenly a battery with musketry opened upon us from the edge of the woods on the other side of the clearing. The shells and balls whistled about our ears very fast for about a minute. I do not think it took us longer than that to get out of range and out of sight. In the sudden start we made, Major Hawkins lost his hat. He did not stop to pick it up." Gilder and Johnson then asked if he might write an entire book. "Do you

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really think anyone would be interested in a book by me?" Grant asked.

Twain was a friendly acquaintance of Grant's. When he learned of the terms for which Grant was working, he was both indignant and keenly interested: "To offer General Grant five hundred dollars for a magazine article was not only the monumental injustice of the nineteenth century, but of all centuries." Twain offered to publish the book himself, offering Grant a 20 percent royalty, twice what the others were proposing. Grant demurred, saying he did not want to be the "robber of a publisher." Twain said he would make $100,000 in six months.

There is a ready-made theme here, of Grant and Twain as figures of the Gilded Age, when the honey of money trapped even the comic poet and the great commander. Perry gives it a few pokes, but mostly lets it alone, and thank goodness. Since the death of my lord the patron, all writing has been for profit.

Grant went to work, assisted by his son Frederick and by Adam Badeau, a former aide, who supplied him with maps and records. Distractions pelted him. Badeau turned out to be a skunk, threatening to tell the world (falsely) that he was doing the actual writing. And Grant was dying; often he could not eat, drink, or sleep for pain. His doctor's attempts to soothe him are heartbreaking. "'Pretend you are a boy again,' [Dr.] Schrady instructed the ex-president. 'Curl up your legs,' he instructed soothingly, 'lie over on your side and bend your neck while I tuck the covers around your shoulders.' Grant turned over, as instructed. 'Now go to sleep like a good boy.'"

The completed *Memoirs* can overwhelm readers who are not Civil War buffs. Yet many sections, such as Grant's account of the Mexican War and his discussion of the importance of telegraphy, are riveting. His set piece on the surrender at Appomattox has burned itself into the American mind. The dominant character type of the American military, from Washington to Tommy Franks—laconic, unyielding, yet humane—here reaches its apogee. Grant finished on July 19, 1885, and died four days later.

Each of these stories is a classic, and if you are unfamiliar with them, you might as well learn about them here. But Mark Perry claims there is a deeper spiritual connection between Grant and Twain. He finds it in the Vicksburg campaign of 1863, when Grant broke the Confederacy's hold on the Mississippi. Twain, says Perry, had a "special attraction to what Grant meant and symbolized: For in descending the Mississippi in the summer of 1863 . . . Grant had transformed the 'war for the Union' into a 'war to free the slaves'—the political conflict became a social revolution. So, too, after Chapter 16, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* becomes less of 'another boy's book' and more of a symbolic journey."

The dominant character type of the American military, from Washington to Tommy Franks—laconic, unyielding, yet humane—reaches its apogee in Grant's memoirs.

But that little "So, too" assumes too much. Grant never made the parallel; nor did Twain, even though he survived Grant by 25 years. No critic that I am familiar with has ever made it. The most Perry can find to back it up is an idea Twain toyed with, of writing yet another tale in which Tom and Huck would fight in a Confederate unit, and meet a Union soldier named U. S. Grant. But Twain never wrote that story. Perry's connection exists only in his own head.

There remains the problem of Perry's prose. The form of biography is so compelling that little is demanded of it as an art. We hope for Boswell, but so long as the subject gets born, does stuff, and dies, any old words will do. Our standards shift, however, when biographers take up writers, whom they must quote. To go from Twain and Grant to Perry's too frequent worst is like turning from morning birds to a motel alarm clock. *Extolling* for *exhorting*, *disinterested* for *uninterested*, *single most*, "Horses came to Ulysses like money to [his father]," "two rising stars of America's nascent literary tradition"—a pox on them all. If Perry leads some readers back to his subjects, he will make partial recompense. **NR**

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Back to The Source

Russell Kirk and the Age of Ideology, by W. Wesley McDonald (Missouri, 264 pp., $44.95)

KEVIN HOLTSBERRY

THE typical conservative may be only vaguely familiar with Russell Kirk as a traditionalist thinker, and as one of the founders of modern American conservatism; and in the academic world, Kirk scholarship remains rare. As a result, Kirk survives mostly as an icon—remembered fondly but not really valued at his true worth.

W. Wesley McDonald, a professor of political science at Elizabethtown College, has moved to fill this void by offering a stimulating intellectual biography of his mentor and friend. *Russell Kirk and the Age of Ideology* avoids hagiography, and provides a serious and thought-provoking discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of Kirk's work. McDonald seeks to make Kirk's ideas understandable and accessible by examining them from the philosophical ground up; the result is a careful and engaging account of the battle of ideas at the heart not only of modern American conservatism but of Western political thought.

Central to Kirk's philosophy is the connection between order in the soul and order in the commonwealth. A society's politics reflects its culture, and hence its morality. Kirk sought—in McDonald's words—to "rediscover, articulate, and defend those enduring moral norms, now blurred in our consciousness, by which civilized peoples have governed their conduct." McDonald situates this effort within the concept of "ethical dualism," as fleshed out in the work of Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More. In this view, man is torn between two natures: his lower self, which focuses on selfish and momentary goals, and his higher self, which has the ability to envision something nobler. The moral man checks his lower self and seeks to strengthen his higher self.

Out of this inner tension comes an outer tension, one between order and freedom. For Kirk, true freedom is not the libertarian's total lack of external restraint but rather the opportunity to attain one's own natural potential, and to live in harmony with the moral order. "Liberty," writes McDonald, "can be found neither in individual self-gratification (as the utilitarian would hold) nor in flowing with one's spontaneous impulses (as the Rousseauists would affirm), but resides instead in [what Babbitt called] the individual's 'ethical self; and the ethical self is experienced not as expansive emotion, but as inner control.'"

For Kirk, true freedom is the opportunity to attain one's own natural potential, and to live in harmony with the moral order.

Just as man must check his lower self, so must society restrain man's wilder impulses to build community. For Kirk, the goal of politics was the preservation of this genuine community. And in the same way man uses his moral imagination to envision something higher than his ego, society uses tradition, habit, ritual, and prescription to mold and protect community. McDonald sees this as central to an understanding of Kirk: "[Aristotle, Cicero, de Tocqueville, and Burke], among others, form within Western political thought an intellectual tradition in which community in its moral and social dimensions is valued as indispensable to civilized existence. The conservative thought of Kirk is, in fact, a summary and development of this tradition applied to the contemporary problem of community."

Kirk's critics sought, and continue to seek, to paint him as a reactionary defender of a nostalgic past or as a proponent of a conservatism more suited to Europe with its feudal history than to egalitarian America. But McDonald skillfully demonstrates that, while Kirk was certainly suspicious of change, he was fully aware of the need for it. As Kirk noted: "The endeavor of the intelligent believer in tradition is so to blend the ancient usage with necessary amendment that society never is wholly old and never wholly new." But—given the centrifugal nature of modern society and its propensity for very rapid change—Kirk sought to emphasize restraint and prudence. The most serious problem of the 20th century, after all, was not the dead hand of tradition but rather the radical-utopian scheming of ideologues.

In today's rootless society, with all its violence and decadence, this insight remains relevant. Kirk's goal of repelling the assault on tradition and morality remains central to the conservative project: "If modern man is to be redeemed from the morally debilitating and socially disintegrative consequences of social boredom, [he] must be made aware once more of the ends or objects of existence. The will atrophies when man cannot perceive any end or object to existence." McDonald addresses, in depth, a range of other issues—including Kirk's objections to libertarianism and neoconservatism, and his radical proposals for improving education. "For Kirk," he writes, "culture precedes politics, and unless a healthy, vibrant civilized culture exists, no amount of 'conservative' political victories will have long-term significance." Kirk was correct, and his insights into the moral and cultural underpinnings of the good society deserve a wider audience. McDonald has produced a challenging and informative work that will help introduce a new generation to Kirk's intellectual achievement. **NR**

Mr. Holtsberry is a writer living in Columbus, Ohio. He blogs about books and ideas at www.collectedmiscellany.com.

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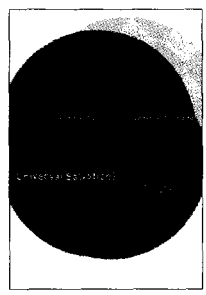
■ SHELF LIFE ■

A Wide Mercy

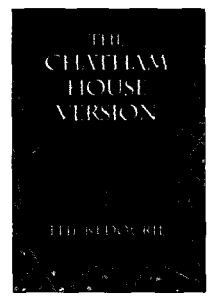
MICHAEL POTEMRA

JOURNALIST Peter Boyer has said, rather provocatively, that Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* is a "war movie"—a martial epic about the struggle between good and evil. Which prompts for Christian believers the theological question, exactly how complete was the victory Christ won, in the drama of Good Friday and Easter Sunday, over the forces of sin and death? The issue has been agitated, at varying levels of temperature, for two thousand years, most notably in the Reformation debate of Calvinist predestinarians, who believe that Christ redeemed a select number of people who cannot resist His act of grace, vs. Arminian champions of human free will, who generally believe Christ died for the purpose of saving all people but will only actually save those who voluntarily assent.



This question has reemerged recently as an intra-Evangelical controversy, which is fully aired in the excellent new book *Universal Salvation?: The Current Debate* (Eerdmans, 319 pp., $27), edited by Robin A. Parry and Christopher H. Partridge. The core of the book is a series of essays by philosopher Thomas Talbott, who argues for the proposition known as universalism: that Christ died for the purpose of saving all mankind, and achieved His purpose. Talbott cleverly combines the high Calvinist doctrine of God's sovereignty (i.e., God is omnipotent and therefore accomplishes all He sets out to do) with the Arminian insistence on God's universal offer of grace (i.e., because God is Love, He purposes that all be saved). If both these propositions are admitted in this form, the inescapable conclusion is that all, in fact, will be saved.

The volume includes a number of essays objecting to Talbott's arguments, from various theological perspectives; Talbott defends himself ably in a concluding chapter. To say that Talbott gets the better of his opponents would be an overstatement; more accurate to say that he successfully makes the case for the intellectual respectability of universalism. This book offers a profound yet accessible discussion of the ultimate questions facing man. After the intellect's capacities are exhausted, we are left with fear and trembling, but also and more importantly, with prayer and hope.



■ "Elie Kedourie is one of those exceptional writers who oblige their readers to examine what they think they know, and to modify their view of the world accordingly. Whatever he wrote has the power to go beyond received opinion straight to reality." So writes NATIONAL REVIEW senior editor David Pryce-Jones in his introduction to the new edition of *The Chatham House Version and Other Middle Eastern Studies* (Ivan R. Dee, 488 pp., $22.95), a collection of twelve detailed and lucid essays by Kedourie. Most of the pieces assembled in this volume deal with British involvement in the Mideast in the colonial period, and they offer much insight into the region's continuing problems; of special interest at this moment is the chapter about how the British endeavored to establish a government in Iraq.

That Kedourie is perceptive and brutally honest, showing no partiality to the lionized, is evident in his assessment of the legendary Lawrence of Arabia:

> When Colonel Lawrence renounced the world his ambition . . . was to become a great writer, to exchange the uncertain and treacherous triumphs of war and politics for the sure and lasting reward of artistic creation. The attempt does not come off, and [Lawrence's 1926 memoir] *Seven Pillars* is a work seething with rancour and resentment, full of advocacy and rhetoric, firmly imprisoned in the world of practice from which its author ceaselessly proclaimed his yearning to escape. As a work of art *Seven Pillars* is deeply flawed, [and] impregnated with that demonic quality which is manifest in Lawrence's career . . .

The "Chatham House Version" of the book's title is Kedourie's label for the consensus account of recent Middle Eastern history favored by Britain's Royal Institute of International Affairs, or Chatham House, and its guiding spirit, Arnold Toynbee. According to this school of thought, writes Kedourie, "the West is a disintegrating society which, owing to its Judaic heritage, has shown itself to be murderously aggressive." The consequences of this view, for Mideast policy and for global politics generally, are harsh and long-lasting. Any remedy begins with understanding, and to that end Kedourie's book is a signally important contribution.

■ In *Recovering the Past: A Historian's Memoir* (University Press of Kansas, 200 pp., $24.95), Forrest McDonald provides a bracing—and highly entertaining—inside view of the battleground of academic history in the PC age. He also communicates a joy in his craft: "The best historians are those who enjoy searching the record of the past for its own sake. I once had a rather dour senior colleague who went into fits of rage when he heard a junior colleague say, as he often did, 'I study history because it is fun.' But that is precisely the purest motivation possible."

■ *Birth of the Chess Queen: A History* (HarperCollins, 304 pp., $24.95), by Marilyn Yalom, is a remarkable micro-history recounting, yes, the evolution of a chess piece. For hundreds of years chess did without any female pieces, but after the queen was introduced it evolved from the weakest into the strongest piece on the board; historian Yalom ties this development to the rise of Christian queenship, and the cults of both the Virgin Mary and romantic love, in the Middle Ages. **NR**

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■ FILM ■

Our Bobby

JAY NORDLINGER

GOLFERS have never had much luck with Hollywood. What I mean is, their sport is hard to capture in a movie—much of the game is interior, a good swing can't be replicated by an actor, etc. The first golf movie was made in 1896; it was a one-reeler called *Golfing Extraordinary*. The Little Rascals made a golf movie, and so did the Three Stooges. In fact, we've had more luck with the comedic films than with the serious ones (think *Caddyshack*).

One of the best known of the serious movies is 1951's *Follow the Sun*, which told the Ben Hogan story. Glenn Ford played an earnest Hogan, but most everything on the course was unbelievable—and Hogan himself was disgusted by the effort.

Way back in 1996—a hundred years after the first golf movie was made—I wrote a piece about *Tin Cup*, a movie in which a lot of golfers had put a lot of stock. (It had been written about, and anticipated, for years.) The movie was a flop, at least as far as trueness to golf was concerned. And I noted that another movie was in the works: a flick called *Stroke of Genius*, which would relate the story of Bobby Jones.

It is hard to convey to the non-golfer—to those who aren't students of the game—just how esteemed Bobby Jones is. For men of earlier generations, in particular, he was a god. Anyway, this film was to star Brad Pitt. I quoted something Spike Lee said about his Malcolm X movie. While he was making it, black people would come up to him and say, "You'd better not mess this up." I said the same, in 1996, about this Bobby Jones movie: *You'd better not . . .*

Well, now that Jones movie is here. It's still called *Stroke of Genius*, but it doesn't star Brad Pitt; it stars Jim Caviezel, of Mel Gibson *Passion* fame. Have they messed it up? Not entirely, but they certainly haven't done justice to Jones. Maybe it is impossible.

The movie begins with every golf cliché in the book: In the early morning, the camera sweeps over the Old Course at St. Andrews. Mystical music—by James Horner, the *Titanic* composer—is played. Soon bagpipes are heard (can you stand it?). Caviezel, playing Jones, walks over to a sleeping, white-whiskered caddy: "Hello, Angus," he says. (You were expecting "Brandon"?) Townspeople have gathered to see Jones tee off, and our man, who is beyond his competitive days, is worried that he'll disappoint them. They love their Bobby so. Angus assures him that he will not disappoint them—cannot disappoint them.

It couldn't be cornier. Needless to say, I had tears in my eyes.

We dissolve back to Bobby's boyhood in Atlanta, and this little actor tyke is whacking the ball. Bobby, I believe, would have been much smoother at that age—this kid is all hike-and-lunge. Also, the boy's southern accent comes and goes. Jones was a sickly child, and his parents encouraged his golf for the benefit of his health (the outdoors and all that). Oddly enough, Jones, for many years, was a hothead—a club-thrower, a curser. I say "oddly," because he came to be a paragon of sportsmanship. This sportsmanship was learned and willed, however, not natural. The film gets this right (although it perhaps dwells a little long on it).

Jim Caviezel is a quite good-looking guy—he's a Hollywood actor, after all—but here's the problem: He's not as good-looking as Jones was. Probably nobody in Hollywood is—not even Brad Pitt. And no actor has the charisma, the star quality, that Jones did. Even in a still photo, you can see this pop out.

As with the child actor—there is an adolescent one, too—Caviezel's accent comes and goes. And the swing is not close enough to right. The Jones swing was famously described as "drowsy elegance"; the movie swing is too effortful, and one weight shift, in particular, is disastrous.

Oh, well. Most of the main events of Jones's career are covered, and we see many of the personalities who figured in that career, including Harry Vardon, O. B. Keeler (the *Atlanta Journal* writer who chronicled Jones's every move), and Walter Hagen. The Haig is played by Jeremy Northam—lucky Hagen, because Sir Walter wasn't nearly as good-looking. The clichés about Hagen, a rascal, a head-gamer, and a genius, are duly played out.

And the lay reader may wish to know that Jones receives a letter from the president of the U.S. Golf Association, George Walker. You will recognize those two names: They are the first two of our current president; Walker was his great-grandfather.

Bob Jones was a man of parts. He studied engineering at Georgia Tech, English at Harvard, and law at Emory. He did golf and heroism on the side.

Unfortunately, Jones was always

MENNONITE GIRLS AT BEACH VOLLEYBALL

Raising their arms, they scream—no, squeal—for joy,
Palms up and out to press the gamboling ball.
(It frisks from side to side; they re-deploy
Accordingly, in bunches, lest it fall.)
But no one in her—is it pinafore
Or Mother Hubbard?—springs to drive a spike.
The game seems pointless (no one keeping score),
And yet a dozen bonnets all alike
Lift up and scan the sky as if this counts,
Yes, really counts. They show a rapturous care,
But unconcern at what each shriek and jounce
Makes clear: as jocks, they haven't got a prayer.
Still, twelve long skirts keep sweeping up the sands.
Still, twelve young girls abandon all reserve.
The ball leaps wildly from no idle hands,
Until it's plain: these handmaids aim to serve.

—LEN KRISAK

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plagued by illness, and by nerves—pressures. I believe the film makes too much of this. For Caviezel's Jones, golf is a grim, joyless experience, something to be endured. This does not sound like the Jones I think I know. Movie Jones says to his wife, "All I wanted to be was a normal person." I doubt it. I think Jones knew he had greatness in him, and enjoyed his greatness (utterly modest though he was).

So too, the film makes much of Jones's having been an amateur, unlike those grubby pros, such as Hagen. In one scene, Jones dresses down a pro for being a pro, for making money off a noble sport; he, by contrast, is an *amateur*, meaning he plays only for the love of it. Three points: 1) I don't believe Jones would have talked like that. 2) If this is a matter of pure love, why is the game so torturous for Movie Jones? 3) It's relatively easy to be an amateur, and disdain prize money, if you're a rich kid.

The movie ends with Jones's dream of building Augusta National. There is a whole other Jones movie to be made, about his stewardship of that club, and its tournament (the Masters), and about Jones's long struggle with illness (mainly a spinal disease). He would tell people who tried to feel sorry for him, "Now, in this game, we play it as it lies." And nothing in a movie could be more cinematic than Jones's acceptance of honorary citizenship from the town of St. Andrews. (He was the first American to be so honored since Ben Franklin.) Nearly crippled, Jones rose unaided to accept. It was practically Biblical. As he left the hall in a golf cart, the crowd sang "Will Ye No' Come Back Again?"

Stroke of Genius is stagy and sentimental—and, as I've noted, I have doubts about its faithfulness—but it touches the mystic chords of golf, which is not nothing. Still, the best "movie" ever made about Jones is a documentary called *The Life and Times of Bobby Jones*, narrated by Sean Connery (a Scot, you see). Obtain it, if you can—and see Bobby swing, and see Bobby grin, and see what a real star looks like. His grace and grit are eternally instructive.

In fact, as the closing credits of the Caviezel film roll, we see photos of the real Jones. This is the most uplifting thing in the movie. Jones himself—one of the best Americans of the 20th century—never messed up. **NR**

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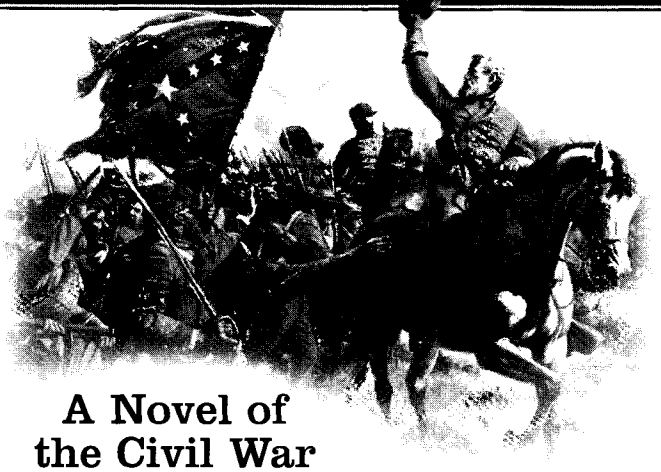

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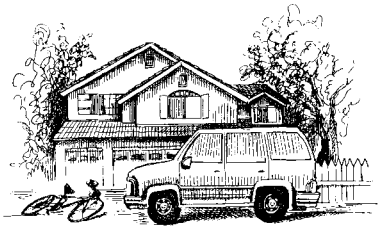
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

On the Fence



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

My Chinese father-in-law, a career officer in the People's Liberation Army until he retired seven years ago, is a robust sort of fellow. He survived the Korean War, the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution without a scratch. What broke his health at last was supervising the workers hired to refurbish an apartment for his son and daughter-in-law. Both of the latter work full time, so Pop volunteered to oversee the project—to make sure the contractors showed up, didn't overcharge, used the specified materials, didn't steal anything, break anything, hide anything, or paint over anything. It was only a two-bedroom apartment in a provincial Chinese city, but it well nigh gave Pop a nervous breakdown.

Once in a while you see in some magazine article a list, drawn up by psychologists, of the most stressful life events. Way up near the head of the list, just under death and divorce, are moving house and having contractors in. I have sworn never to move house again, having boxes still unpacked from our last move twelve years ago; but there is no avoiding contractors, not unless you have much more time, and a far wider range of do-it-yourself skills, than we have.

This year's visitation has been the fencing people. That last move, back in 1992, was our first from the city to the suburbs. Rosie had set her heart on getting a dog, so I insisted we put up a fence round the back yard, to permit the creature some free roaming out of doors. We called in a local firm, which sent two young men, college students I think, to put up 200 feet of wooden palings, which we then painted white. A white picket fence! We two immigrants felt we had penetrated at last to the warm suburban heart of the American dream.

Twelve years later the fence was in a sorry state. Weather, termites, and a sort of creeping greenish slime had done their work, weakening and disfiguring. The dog was still with us, and we put off decisions for a year or so with the excuse that he could not live much longer, and we'd get a new fence when he left us. The dog, however, though an octogenarian in people years, remains doggedly, and doggily, hale and hearty, while the fence is so dilapidated that he can push his way through it with little difficulty, and has begun showing up in neighbors' yards. By this spring the logic of the situation had become inescapable: We needed a new fence.

The firm we settled on sent a pleasant young man with an Italian surname to take measurements and negotiate details. After he had left, I remarked to Rosie that the work crew, when they arrived, would probably consist of him, or some other white American guy, in charge of two illegal immigrants from south of the border. My guess was (I further remarked) that erecting fences is now the kind of work that, as our president says, "Americans won't do." The only kind of work Americans will do nowadays, I concluded—honking away in full pundit mode now, wife rolling her eyes—is lawyering, trading financial futures, making movies, and appearing in reality-TV programs.

I was mostly right. The crew that showed up this morning consists of two Jamaicans. They address me in fluent British English with that slight, rather attractive Caribbean accent that makes them sound oddly like Welshmen. To each other, however, they speak the impenetrable patois of their native island. What their immigration status is, I have no way to ascertain. They are polite, but distant. I attempt some friendly exchanges, but the ball does not come back over the net. They are very large, very black, and very foreign, and I feel slightly intimidated by them. What if they insist on playing horrible music at high volume while they work? How shall I deal with that?

The fact of their being Jamaican adds further anxieties. It is of course a very wicked thing to trade in stereotypes, but in England, which has lots of West Indian immigrants, the common canard about Jamaicans is that they are light-fingered, the Romanian gypsies of the Caribbean. (Whatever else you may think about this slur on an entire nation, it is certainly not racist. I first heard it from a black Trinidadian landlady I once had in London, and it is apparently current all over the West Indies.)

In the context of having contractors in to fix up your house, this is particularly disturbing. I seem never to have had a contractor in, of any nationality or ethnicity, who did not leave with some item of my property in his van. My basement, where I keep my tools, is now out of bounds to contractors, unless I am there to watch them. I am just sick of replacing tools. I'm not even sure contractors realize what they are doing when they steal my stuff. One fellow, a plumber one of our neighbors had recommended, American of Norwegian ancestry, took off with my tool carrier. It's only a $12 plastic item, but I find it awfully handy. When I phoned the Viking to ask for it back, he brought it round at once, but with no sign of embarrassment and no apology. There is apparently something in the contractor code of ethics that says he has a right to help himself to a homeowner's tools and equipment.

[Later.] The fence guys have gone, leaving behind them a not-quite-finished job. We have, of course, not quite paid, so I suppose this is fair. When will they come to finish up? I asked Clive as he got into his truck. "They'll call you." I suppose they will, in their own sweet time. Oh, well. They didn't steal any tools, were considerate to my wife's daffodils, and didn't play music. Not my worst contractor experience, by any means. And we have a fine new fence. The garage, badly in need of an overhaul, now looks twice as bad by contrast, but that will be work for next year's contractors. **NR**

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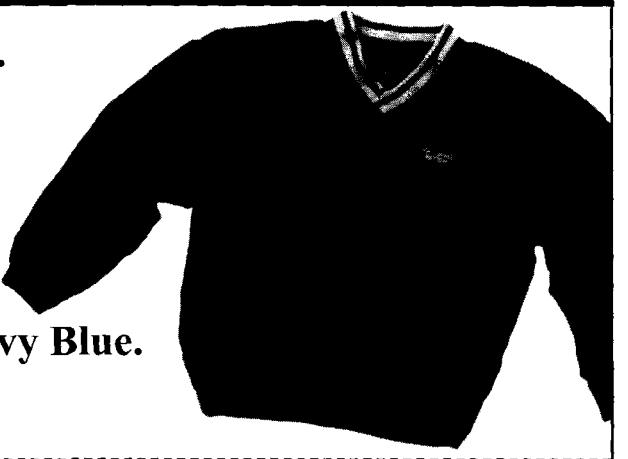

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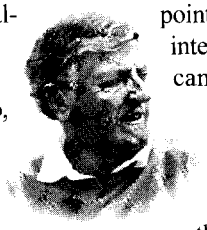
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Depends What Is Is

NEW YORK, APRIL 30

One after another came in over the radio on the subject of Senator Kerry and his medals, and then we heard the blessed voice of Senator John McCain. He pleaded that the whole controversy should be dropped. What we need, he said, is bipartisan action on what to do in Iraq. Kerry has agreed that we can't bail out, and that is the position of the president. So why don't the two sides get together on a common strategy? "The other stuff is just politics," McCain said.

Well yes, it is just politics, but politics has its place in the evolution of national deliberations on who should be the next president. "Politics," as practiced in this controversy, has to do with the question of the character and credibility of candidates, incumbents and challengers.



It's time to examine candidates who, thirty-five years ago, did not serve in the Vietnam War. We need to remind ourselves that that war did not call for participation by all able-bodied Americans aged 18-25. This was not a war in which 16 million people served, as they did—as we did—in the Second World War. Yes, there were volunteers, and Kerry, however much he later regretted it, was one of those volunteers and fought gallantly. But to have fought gallantly does not give you a warrant to condemn those who didn't serve.

We have a volunteer army at this point, and it should be so until we come upon a national challenge that can't be met using only volunteers. Then we get the draft. During the Civil War, it was perfectly respectable to exercise the option to buy yourself (for $300) exemption from the draft. That went on until the needs of the union ended that exemption, but it was never suggested that to have taken advantage of it was unpatriotic. When Dick Cheney's turn came up, he said he had "other priorities," all of them legal. But to have exercised other priorities is being held now, by the Democratic Shrumguard, to have been less than honorable.

The Republican fusillade focuses on what is believed by an increasing number of people, namely that John Kerry has given confusing accounts of his own actions, of his appraisal of the military arm of government, and of his sentiments on the Iraq war. Columnist Jeff Jacoby of the *Boston Globe* records that, Yes, Kerry did say in 1971 that he had thrown away his medals, as a gesture "for peace and justice." In November of that year he said he had decided to "renounce the symbols which this country gives" to its soldiers at war. In 1984, however, running for office against a World War II Air Force veteran, he said those weren't his own medals he threw away, they were those of another veteran, tossed "at his request." In 1986 he said they weren't actually medals, they were ribbons. At this point he got a little feisty, telling one interviewer: "They're my medals. I can do goddam what I want with them." On a recent TV show he tried to square a circle, which not even Einstein could do. Having distinguished between throwing away ribbons (okay) and medals (not okay) he said that "ribbons, medals, were absolutely interchangeable." He should have had better options than to say that.

But it is presumably impossible for the Democratics to dump Kerry and look for someone more straightforward. The question then becomes: Is it wrong for the GOP reelection campaign to continue to bring up the metal/ribbon/did/didn't business? In yesterday's paper four possible vice presidential candidates were named. The story said they were being "vetted." That means they were being looked over to discover whether there was anything in their background which would play into the political slicing machine. Did they throw away/not throw away their medals? Vote for/vote against the Iraq war? If anything questionable is found, does that mean Kerry would look for a running mate less vulnerable?

Bedroom Rights

NEW YORK, MAY 4

I am in favor of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech, with one exception. Nobody should be permitted to say that "the government should stay out of the bedrooms of America." What if a civil-rights hate act was being conducted in the bedroom? For that matter, what if Daddy was forcing his way with a 10-year-old girl? Or Mom was starving her 10-month-old boy?

The phrase is an idiotic invocation of a taboo whose single purpose is to illegitimize concern about sexual activity. Said John Kerry, "Abortion should be rare, but it should be safe and legal because the government should stay out of the bedrooms of America." Just by the way, the bedrooms of America aren't where abortions are had, they're where seeds are planted that lead to abortions.

That government should stay out of the bedrooms of America has come to mean an ever-increasing area of official non-concern. There is to be no concern over sodomy in the bedroom. But are there limits? What about incest? We know that infanticide is just plain illegal, even if undertaken in the bedroom—provided the infant is at least one day old. If the infant is minus one day old, it's all right to snuff him/her out, and go to church on Sundays.

We bump now into a second maxim, to which insufficient thought is given. "John Kerry is a believing and practicing Catholic," said his spokesman David Wade. "His faith has played an important role in his life but he also believes in the separation of church and state."

Well, so do us guys, Wade. But when Kerry approaches the altar rail, why are so many people saying that he should be given communion? If we have a separation of church and state, then the right of the Church is to decide who does and who does not receive communion. If you are saying that a member should be given communion even if he counsels laws that violate rights believed by the Church to be universal, then you are not arguing the separation of church and state. You are arguing the supremacy of the state. State believes abortion okay, therefore, Church must not discriminate against

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anyone who also says it is okay.

Or is the complaint against the Church that it is laying down laws not only for Catholics, but also for non-Catholics? But if the moral commandments of a church extended only to the treatment of its own members, then it would be fine to ignore the rights of people who were merely, oh, Hindus, or Jews. It is another thing to limit the sanctions of a church to its own members. A Catholic bishop would be presumptuous if he announced that Al Franken would not be welcome at the communion rail. It is widely understood, and not resented, that only Catholics go to the Catholic communion rail, the same kind of thing as only Democrats go to Democratic caucuses.

But now we have a Nigerian cardinal in the Vatican who has reaffirmed the right of an American Catholic bishop to deny communion to someone who votes in favor of permissive abortion laws. The organization of the Catholic Church is centralized. The Pope is the head of the Church, but bishops are vested with authority which is theirs, and includes, in this case, the authority to deny communion to those who flout precepts thought by the bishops to be central to moral obligations. The difference between giving communion to John Kerry, presidential candidate, and giving communion to John Doe, who voted for a local abortion law, is that Kerry is a public figure, and therefore a transgressor whose transgression is a public act, inviting reprisal, like the protester who draws attention to himself by proclaiming his defiance. To upbraid a bishop for denying communion to a public figure who espouses permissive abortion laws is to upbraid him for upholding the doctrine of the separation of church and state. If the churchman allows himself to be governed by state practices, he violates that separation.

Exit Rumsfeld?

NEW YORK, MAY 11

SEEKING relief from the hideousness of Abu Ghraib, some commentators thought back to My Lai. It could only be said about that black day in Vietnam in 1968, in search of an explanation this side of concluding that American soldiers are mass killers, that some of the men who engaged in the massacre did what they did under the impulse of hot pursuit. You are waging the war, there are snipers and other hidden assailants, and you find yourself authorizing your men to use their machine guns to mow everybody down. In Iraq there seems to have been nothing there in the sense of dodging bullets and returning fire. It seemed sheer sadism, pleasure taken from torture. Psychological torture, we have reason to believe, though there are corpses to be accounted for. But there is no accounting for forcing naked men to enact sexual practices, some apparently perverse, for the gratification of an assembly apparently stripped of any thought of humane behavior.

Yes, the miscreants, or at least those who are identifiable, will be tried. It is hard to imagine what their defense will be, though no doubt it will be a plea based on the strain of their assignment and the disorientation of war prison duty. Lt. William Calley, whose infantry company killed the civilians in My Lai, pleaded the fever of the war, but he was convicted to life in prison. A startling thing then happened. What seemed all of America rose up in protest against the sentence. The American people were not saying, clearly, that it was wrong to convict someone who had so crassly violated the rules of war. But they were saying that they thought the sentence inordinate, and the pressure was so immense that President Nixon bowed to it, sharply reducing the sentence.

It is unlikely that a great protest would follow upon the conviction of the Abu Ghraib torturers, but what will not be accomplished simply by trying and convicting them is any sense of national expiation. The American people are so dumbfounded by what happened, they are listening attentively to a cry for the dismissal of Donald Rumsfeld.

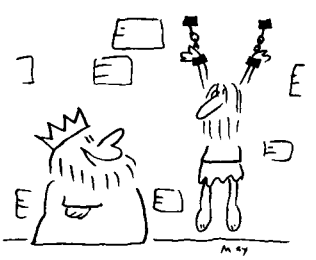
The case against the secretary of defense goes beyond the events in the prison. For those, he has already apologized. But there was a sense there of a man apologizing because the Tables of Organization list him as the man-in-charge, a little like the mayor of San Francisco apologizing for the earthquake. Not yet explained is how it is that Donald Rumsfeld, looking at the report in March describing the behavior of the prison guards, did nothing more than merely approve their prosecution. Clearly what cried out to be done was a public repudiation of the misbehavior combined with the public exposure of it.

No doubt Mr. Rumsfeld acted entirely on military considerations. The scene in Iraq had got bad, in March, and he was surely motivated by the temptation to think of anything other than the containment of the terrorists as clerical in nature. But of course he was wrong, and his misjudgment is paradoxically hitting him the hardest. While he might reasonably have thought the prison doings trivial in the context of a war in which 135,000 American soldiers were engaged, some being killed every day, the public has been seized by the hideous detail, seeing it as a sore that suddenly illuminates the disease coursing through the whole system. Abu Ghraib is causing some people to say: What in the *hell* were American soldiers doing in that grisly place? With those grisly people! While some of their companions were being ambushed and shot every day. Oh! And by the way, they are asking for billions of dollars more to pursue that nightmare.

Not lucid thought, granted. If we had applied the same reasoning to incidents in the Pacific sixty years ago, we'd have declared the war diseased and unjustified, and fired Douglas MacArthur for losing the Philippines. History teaches us that the firing of a general, when wars go badly, is a pretty routine thing. President Lincoln fired General McClellan, who then proceeded to nomination for president by the Democratic party in 1864.

President Bush is understandably determined not to let Abu Ghraib dictate the course of our entire Mideast enterprise. But he may not succeed, and Donald Rumsfeld may be giving thought to whether his continued service is a strategic mistake.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



"It's too nice a day to hang around indoors—how'd you like to be on a chain gang?"

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Calling the Turks and Caicos . . .

It's the crude sado-masochistic elements that bother me. Not in the photos, but in the ensuing ballyhoo. To witness an entire culture—media and political—toss all other business aside for a non-stop ritual self-flagellation session is a remarkable privilege. I use the term "self-flagellation" because, though many Democrats and pundits fancy themselves in the sado-dominant role and clearly enjoy flaying Bush, Rumsfeld, and Co., it is in the objective sense an act of masocho-submission, at least for America. Take, for example, Senator Edward M. Kennedy:

"On March 19, 2004, President Bush asked, 'Who would prefer that Saddam's torture chambers still be open?' Shamefully, we now learn that Saddam's torture chambers reopened under new management: U.S. management."

Sad to say, Senator Kennedy, along with Senator Clinton, is the only elected U.S. official other than the president whom the rest of the world has heard of. That's what I mean by self-flagellation: When the most famous name in U.S. politics slanders his country and its military, around the planet it's America that's diminished. For all the bloviating, for all the Vietnam nostalgia, for all the quagmired speechifying, what does the senator actually want for Iraq?

I know what I'd like: Iraq, circa 2010, is a functioning confederal state, not a perfect democracy, but a respectable one—not New Hampshire, not Norway, but not Zimbabwe, either. Think Singapore or Belize. It has a growing economy, an enlightened education system, a free press, and an expanding middle class. Its representative at Arab League meetings votes with the King of Morocco more often than with Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia. Its presence as a free society in the heart of the region changes the dynamic, encouraging reform in some of its neighbors (Jordan) and shriveling the dictatorships in others (Syria).

Here's my fall-back position: A functioning confederal state proves impossible in Iraq, because Fallujah and Najaf cannot be subdued except by measures we're unwilling to take. In that case, preserve the ten-year-old free state in Kurdistan by giving it independence and letting it flourish as the Slovenia of Iraq. Western and southern Iraq become Shiastan, and we turn a blind eye to some old Shia score-settling and content ourselves with whatever more or less benign Musharraf figure the mullahs can come up with.

What do the Democrats want? Beats me. I'm not one of those right-wingers who think the Left are actively treasonous, but on this issue they are—to put it at its mildest—highly non-curious. I attended a ton of Democratic rallies during primary season, and, when it came to question time, the striking feature was not the small number of virulently anti-war types but the much larger number of Democrats who had nothing to say. Pretty boy John Edwards had a stump speech of masterful condescension designed to hit every Democratic button, including the spare ones in your top left-hand pocket, and yet felt no need to say a word on Iraq, except for a pledge to stop Halliburton war profiteering.

I think it's reasonable to suggest that Democrats and the media just want Iraq to go away so we can get back to talking about all those Clinton-era feminized micro-politics—the things Dems really get passionate about. ("Bike path politics," I called it a while back, after Howard Dean revealed that he'd quit the Episcopal Church because of a dispute over one.) Dems would much rather be talking about mommy politics—federally regulated bicycling helmets, mandatory wheelchair access to bike paths, federal bike-path networks across the northern border so cycling seniors can get fast-track access to Canadian drugs quicker—than all this daddy politics about re-making the Middle East and de-nuking Iran and North Korea. If it takes tarring him as the kinky madam of the Abu Ghraib bondage dungeon to make Daddy Rumsfeld go away, so be it.

The intelligent discussion on Iraq takes place in-house on the right—"neo-cons" vs. "realists," etc. But the wider debate in America is between those who take the Spiderman view of international relations—"with great power comes great responsibility"—and those who think the most powerful nation in human history can simply climb into the Suburban and go to the mall for its entire period of dominance. That's what the great Democratic all-purpose cure-all boils down to: "We need to hand power back to the U.N. Or the EU. Or the Arab League. Or the Deputy Fisheries Minister of the Turks and Caicos Islands." Or as Thomas L. Friedman, the hilariously tortured foreign-policy grandee of the *New York Times*, put it:

"Mr. Bush needs to invite to Camp David the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, the heads of both NATO and the U.N., and the leaders of Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Syria. There, he needs to eat crow, apologize for his mistakes," etc., etc.

Why would it be in America's interest to inflate the prestige of Boy Assad? This lame-o multilateral outsourcing is the geopolitical equivalent of subcontracting to "undocumented" immigrants: Here you go, we don't mind giving you the money, just take care of it, we don't want to know the details—we want to go back to the beach.

It's not an option. To modify Osama, there's a strong horse and a weak horse, and America is both of them. **NR**

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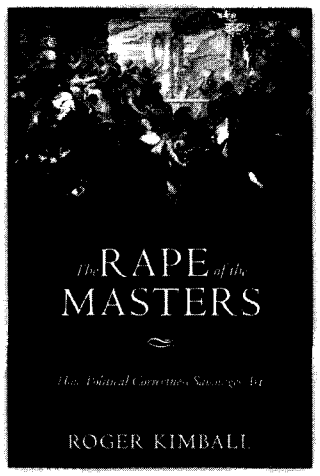
Summer Reading for Culture Warriors

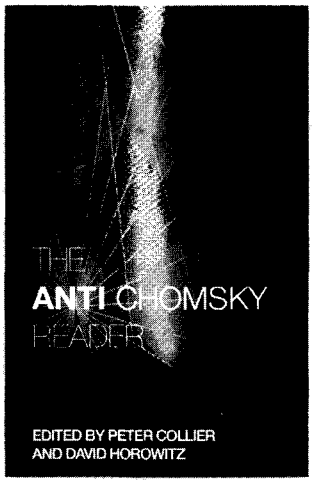


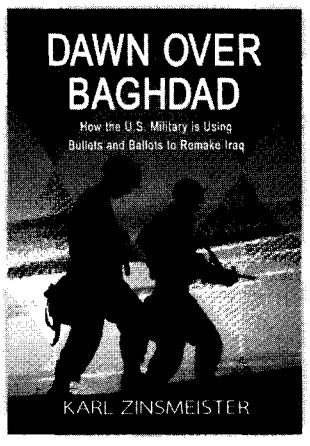
The Rape of the Masters: How Political Correctness Sabotages Art
by Roger Kimball

Essayist and art critic Roger Kimball shows how the discipline of art history is increasingly held hostage by radical cultural politics—feminism, postcolonial studies, deconstructionism, etc. Kimball discusses the fate of eight famous works (all of them reproduced in this book) by artists such as Van Gogh, Courbet, and Rothko and shows how they have been transformed by academic radicalism into metaphors for perverse sexuality, racism, the tyranny of the nuclear family, etc. After describing how great art is routinely debased in our universities, galleries, and museums, Kimball then performs a series of intellectual rescue operations on his eight examples, explaining how these works should be understood in illuminating readings where art, not politics, guides the discussion.

The Anti-Chomsky Reader
Edited by Peter Collier and David Horowitz

Collier and Horowitz have put together a book that analyzes Chomsky's intellectual career and the evolution of his anti-Americanism. ("About time!" was the reaction of one early reader.) The essays in this provocative book focus on subjects such as Chomsky's bizarre involvement with Holocaust revisionism, his obsessive apologies for Khmer Rouge tyrant Pol Pot, and his claim that U.S. policies since WW II, are comparable to Nazism. Chomsky's linguistics is also subject to second thoughts by some of his leading colleagues. The Anti-Chomsky Reader is a fascinating composite portrait of a man whose anti-Americanism has made him a hero abroad and a cult figure at home.





Dawn Over Baghdad: How the U.S. Military is Using Bullets and Ballots to Remake Iraq
by Karl Zinsmeister

Early 2004 Zinsmeister, who had been embedded the previous year with the 82nd Airborne during combat operations in Iraq, rejoined U.S. soldiers occupying the most dangerous parts of the country. In this dramatic book, he takes the reader into Iraq's urban neighborhoods, rural villages, and guerilla snake pits, and shows exactly how young American soldiers are quietly but inexorably choking off a terrorist insurrection and planting the seeds of a new different Iraq. Gripping and perceptive, *Dawn Over Baghdad* is an up-to-the-minute report on America's most urgent national struggle, as seen through the eyes of U.S. servicemen and Iraqis who are in the middle of the most dangerous place in the world.

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THANKS TO HIS STUBBORNNESS, THE WASTE ON THIS TRUCK CAN BE USED TO FUEL IT.

Patrick Foody Sr. is a determined man. Some 30 years ago, he had a visionary idea. He would produce ethanol, a vital ingredient in transportation fuels, from agricultural wastes like cereal straws and cornstalks. Contemporaries doubted him. Initial attempts were costly. Still, Pat and his colleagues at Iogen Corporation pressed on. After much dogged persistence, and with help from Shell, they found ways to make large-scale production a commercial reality. It may be a while yet before alternatives such as EcoEthanol™ can become a major source of energy. But by seeking out partners like Pat, we're hoping to bring that day a step closer. Visit www.shell.com/biofuels for more information.

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